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THE BOSWORTH PSALTER

PRINTED AT STANBROOK ABBEY WORCESTER

THE BOSWORTH PSALTER

AN ACCOUNT OF A MANUSCRIPT FORMERLY BELONGING TO O. TURVILLE-PETRE ESQ. OF BOSWORTH HALL NOW ADDIT. MS. 37517 AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM

BY

ABBOT GASQUET & EDMUND BISHOP

WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE BIRTH-DATE OF SAINT DUNSTAN

BY

LESLIE A. St L. TOKE B. A.



LONDON
GEORGE BELL AND SONS
1908

TO THE READER

Since the first portion of this tract has been in type the Bosworth Psalter has passed into the possession of the British Museum. It is now catalogued as Addit. MS. 37517.

We desire to express our thanks to Dr. Warner and to Mr. S. C. Cockerell for suggestions and help. We are also grateful to the authorities of Salisbury Cathedral for allowing the ancient Psalter MS. 150 in their library to be sent up to the British Museum for consultation, and in particular to Mr. Malden for so kindly arranging for the transit of the volume.

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PREFATORY NOTE

The recognition of an ancient English Psalter, hitherto unnoticed and undescribed, is of sufficient importance to call for some detailed account of so interesting a manuscript. A few months ago whilst on a brief visit to Mr. and Mrs. Turville Petre, at Bosworth Hall, Husbands-Bosworth, Leicestershire, I was asked to examine the library, and in particular the court rolls and MSS. in their possession. Amongst these latter there were two of considerable importance, one of which is the Psalter to be presently described. I had known of the existence of this singularly interesting volume from the slight account given of it in Nichols's *History of Leicestershire*[1] which was derived from a notice of the library furnished by Mr. D. Wells to *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1789 (Vol. LX, p. 117). I was, however, wholly unprepared to see what at once appeared to me to be one of the most important MS. English Psalters in existence, and which, strange as it may seem, has up to the present time escaped notice by students and archæologists. Recognizing the great interest of this precious volume, which the owner allowed me to take away, I immediately proposed to Mr. Edmund Bishop, my friend and fellow-worker during many years, that we should together make a joint study of the MS. In order to avoid delay, and for greater security in testing results, we made a preliminary division of the work between us. Mr. Bishop undertook the examination of the Calendar, and I of the Psalter generally. The third part of the following study has been carried out together, but the whole in all its parts has been examined by each, and each of us is responsible for the whole.

F. A. GASQUET.

Athenæum Club.
May 1, 1907.

[1] II. p. 464

THE BOSWORTH PSALTER

I. THE PSALTER

1. HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE VOLUME

THE Bosworth Psalter consists of 137 folios (274 pages) of thick parchment, each $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $10\frac{5}{6}$ inches, in gatherings of four sheets (8 leaves) bound in stout oak boards. The first two folios, slightly smaller in size and of somewhat finer vellum, are of a date somewhat later than the rest of the volume. They are occupied with a very important calendar, which will be dealt with at some length in the next section.

Collation. A flyleaf, Calendar, 2ff., 1^8 (lacks 1) 2^8—17^8, a second flyleaf.

On the first page of the calendar are the three signatures 'Thomas Cantuarien', 'Arundel', and 'Lumley', so well known to students of the Royal Collection of MSS. in the British Museum as those of Thomas Cranmer, Henry Fitzalan 12th Earl of Arundel, and John, Lord Lumley, who died in 1609. Many of the manuscripts collected by Archbishop Cranmer under the exceptionally advantageous circumstances furnished by the dissolution of the monasteries and the religious changes generally, were subsequently acquired by the Earl of Arundel. By him they were bequeathed to Lord Lumley, who was his son-in-law, and soon after the latter's death the whole collection was purchased by King James I. for his son Henry, Prince of Wales; and on his death they became part of the royal library, which ultimately was presented to the nation by George II. and is now in the British Museum.

It seems certain that the Bosworth Psalter at one time formed part of this Royal Collection. Not only is the presence of the three names upon the first folio of the MS. an indication of this,

but there can be little doubt that the following entry in the catalogue of the Lumley library (1607-9) refers to this volume: 'Theologi. P. in folio—Psalterium cum hymnis quibusdam pulcherrime scriptum et paraphrastice ex parte glossatum'. As this accurately describes the Bosworth Psalter, it may be taken for granted that this volume was purchased by James I. on the death of Lord Lumley in 1609. How it subsequently became separated from the Royal Collection it is of course impossible to conjecture. It may be said to have found its way into the library at Bosworth Hall from the family of Fortescue of Salden, in Buckinghamshire. The few other MSS. in the library certainly came to the present owner in that way and we know that in 1762 Elizabeth Fortescue was possessed of the principal manor of Husbands-Bosworth, which had previously been in possession of her grand-father, father and brother. She, dying in 1763, devised her estate to Francis Fortescue Turville, from whose descendant the present owner, Mr. Turville-Petre, lately inherited the estates.

Although it is impossible to trace the post-Reformation history of the Bosworth Psalter beyond 1609, until 1798, when Nichols describes it as being at Husbands-Bosworth, an entry in an early catalogue of Christ Church, Canterbury, appears to refer to this volume at a very early date. The list of Christ Church books drawn up in the thirteenth century by Prior Henry of Estry, and printed by Dr. Montague James in his *Ancient Libraries of Dover and Canterbury* has as item 1776, the following: *Psalterium cum hympnario.* In itself this may appear a rather indefinite description, but the existence of an early psalter with the full collection of Church hymns joined to it, so far as our present knowledge extends, is unique, and we may safely conjecture therefore that this MS. is the very volume here referred to.

Each verse of the psalms has a red initial: and the first verses of the psalms have initial letters executed in soft colours and about four lines in height. The whole writing occupies rather more than 12 inches by 7 inches with twenty-five lines to the page. Where there are divisions to be made in the psalms, etc., for liturgical purposes, as will be subsequently explained, these are indicated by slightly larger initial letters. The hymnal and the canticles which



INITIAL OF 51ST PSALM

follow are written in double columns. Although no gold has been used, some of the great initials are elaborate compositions of several colours exquisitely harmonized. There are four of these large ornamental initials, marking respectively the 1st, 51st, 101st, and 109th psalms; the decorative effect is very fine. The style of three of these very handsome letters may be seen in the specimen here reproduced. The Q covers nearly half the page. The chief colours employed are blue, mauve, brown, red lead, venetian red, pale pink and pale yellow. The vigour of the drawing and the harmonious tones of the colours show a most skilful artist. The ornamental character of the page is enhanced by the capitals of the text being written in various colours; thus, the end of the word *Quid* is mauve, the second line blue, the third red lead, the fourth blue, the fifth Venetian red, the sixth blue, the seventh mauve, the eighth blue, the ninth red lead.

The B of the 1st psalm and the D of the 109th are more subdued in colour than the Q. The D which is the most carefully finished of all the initials ends in a strongly-drawn dragon.

The D of the 101st psalm is so different in character from the other three as to suggest another artist. The letter is all in a broad wash of blue, with touches of white, red and green.

The insertion of some of the letters in other capitals seems to point to the use of an earlier MS. by the scribe as a model.

The drawing of many of the ordinary capitals is unusually free, and the curves both exact and graceful. The large size of the folio, the regularity of the hand-writing, the sober colours chosen for the larger initials, and the staid beauty evident in the artistic work of the more elaborate letters, all seem to suggest that the MS. must have been prepared for some special purpose, or perhaps more probably for the use of some great personage.

2. CONTENTS OF THE VOLUME

The volume comprises besides the calendar, written at some time a little later than the body of the book, and, as before noted, on vellum of a different size and finer quality:

(1) The Latin Psalter, including the extra psalm *Pusillus eram*, which occupies 91 folios of the book.

(2) The Canticles used at Lauds with the psalms in the liturgical Office and the *Benedictus*, *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis*, *Te Deum* etc. commonly found at the end of such psalters. This portion of the MS. takes up 8 folios of the book. On folio 100, there is a short litany, with prayers written at some date later than the rest[1].

(3) A complete Hymnal, comprising 101 hymns for the various canonical hours and seasons, occupies 24 folios, and on the reverse of folio 124 is a striking sketch of a Christ in Majesty, which was never finished; at some date or other, as it seems to us, this fine drawing has been gone over with a pencil.

(4) The Canticles for the 3rd nocturn of the monastic Office arranged in sets of three and written in double columns. These occupy 7 more folios.

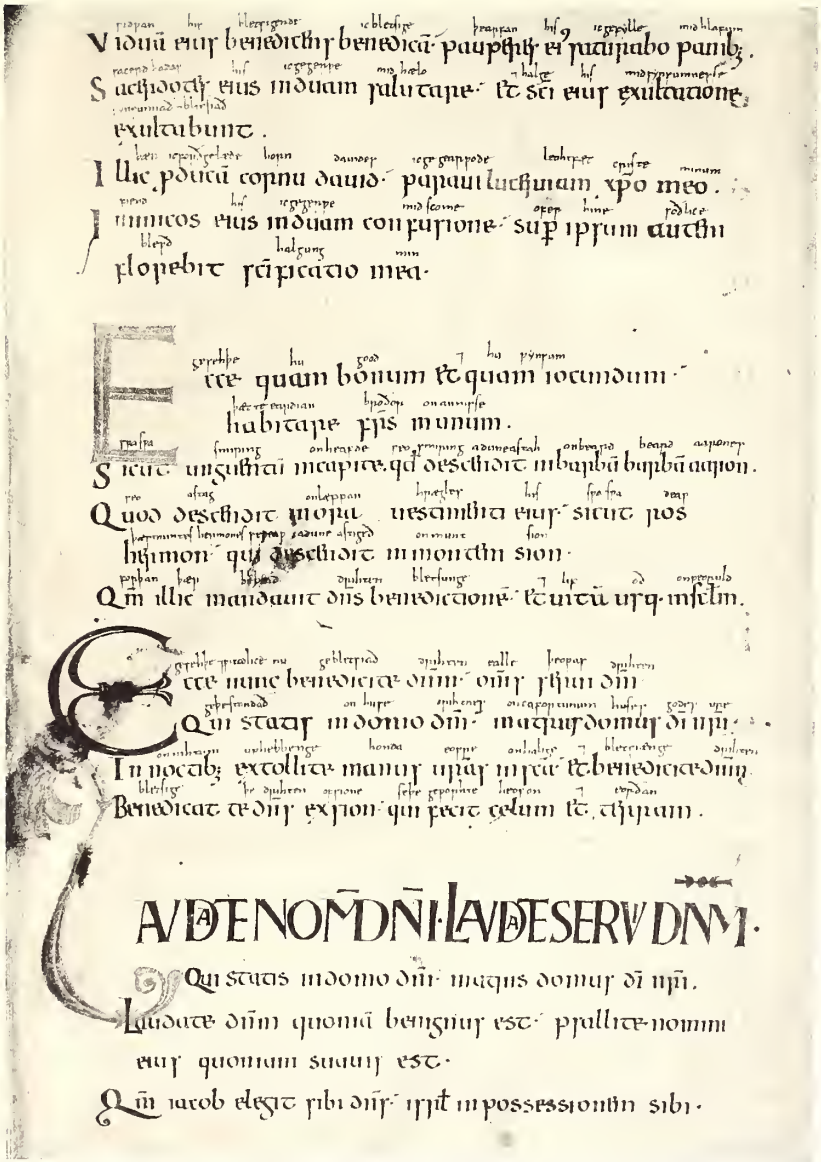
(5) The Preface and Canon of the Mass, written probably late in the eleventh century, take 3 folios, and these are followed by the Mass of the Blessed Trinity with neums of about the same date.

It will be convenient to speak of each of these divisions of the Bosworth Psalter in their order.

3. THE PSALMS

The version of the psalms is that known as the Roman, which in certain places has been corrected at some later period into the Gallican. St. Jerome in the first instance corrected the Latin version of the psalter then in common use in the churches, by the Septuagint, and this was at once commonly adopted in the churches of Rome and Italy and hence called the Roman. Later on he translated the Septuagint Greek version into Latin, bringing it into partial agreement with the Hebrew. To make it clear, where the version was not exactly literal he introduced into this second recension certain signs, stars, asterisks, and colons etc., to mark where the words or phrases were not to be found in the Hebrew or Septuagint, but had been introduced to amplify or explain the true meaning of the psalms. This second recension,

[1] The following saints only are named in this litany which is obviously no part of the original book: Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, John, Peter, Paul, Andrew, John, Stephen, Laurence, Ypolitus, Benedict, Martin, Cuthbert, Felicitas, Perpetua, Scolastica.



ORDINARY INITIAL LETTERS AND LARGE HEADING OF NEW DAY'S PSALMS

which is the one now known as the Vulgate, was adopted by the churches of Gaul for the divine Office and for this reason it became known as the 'Gallican version'. The first corrected version of St. Jerome—the Roman—was still however said in Rome itself, as well as elsewhere in Italy. Gradually even in Italy the second recension—the Gallican, or version of the Vulgate—superseded the Roman except in St. Peter's itself, where its use is retained even to the present day.[1]

On the conversion of England St. Augustine, coming from Rome itself, naturally brought into the country with him the recension then in use in the Eternal City; namely the Roman. Thus the celebrated Cotton MS. Psalter 'Vespasian A 1' in the British Museum is almost certainly a very early copy, made in England, of the actual book of the psalms, which the apostle of our race is known to have brought to Canterbury. According to the description given by the monk Elmham this volume was kept on the high altar at St. Augustine's monastery, Canterbury, as a precious memorial of the saint. The version is the Roman throughout, and so too is that of another MS. Psalter in the British Museum (Royal MS. 2. B. v.), which has been attributed to Winchester and is supposed to have been written in the first half of the tenth century.

It would seem probable that the use in the public recitation of the Church Office of the Roman version, thus introduced into England by the first missionaries, was maintained, except perhaps in isolated instances, until the Norman Conquest.[2] Quotations from the psalms in the homilies of St. Bede show that he made use of this Roman version at Jarrow, and we learn from the life of St. Wilfrid, that on coming to Canterbury he abandoned the use of the version of the psalms he had learnt from the Scottic missionaries and adopted the version he found in use there, which was of course the Roman.

At the time of the Norman Conquest it became necessary to take steps to introduce into the public Church-service the use of

[1] There was a third version made by St. Jerome from the Hebrew; with this we have no concern here.

[2] It is probable that if ever a really critical edition of the *Roman* Psalter is undertaken, it is in England that the means for carrying it out must be sought.

the Gallican version which by this time had become universal on the continent, except in Rome, and which the new masters who now controlled England used. It is obvious that the public recitation of both the versions was impossible, and it was only natural that the foreign conquerors should insist upon that to which they were accustomed in their own country. We know, in the case of Glastonbury, for example, that the change was not popular. In 1082 the first Norman abbot, Thurstin, was appointed to that monastery. Difficulties were soon caused by his 'letting fall many ancient and laudable customs of the monastery and changing some into those of his own country. . . Among other things, disliking the Gregorian song (used) in the church, he would compel the monks to leave off the same and to learn and sing the notes of one William of Fescamp. This they resented as being grown old in the use of this song and in their Office according to the use of the Roman Church.'

Evidences of this change of version at this time appear on the face of several of the MSS. which have come down to us: the supposed Winchester MS. (Royal MS. 2. B. V.), which was written about the middle of the tenth century, is originally a MS. of the Roman version, but at some subsequent date it has been partially corrected into the Gallican. In the first psalm for instance the original word 'fecerit' has been changed into 'faciet', and in the *Cum invocarem* (ps. 4.) the words distinctive of the Roman version have been scratched out, although the words of the Gallican have not been written in.

So too Harl. MS. 603 is a curious example of this change of the old for the new. The MS. is attributed to some early period in the eleventh century. Each psalm is illustrated with fine large drawings obviously copied from those of the Utrecht Psalter. The version of the psalms in the original—the celebrated Utrecht Psalter—is the Gallican, and this is to be expected as it was doubtless written on the continent. In the case of the Harley Psalter, on the other hand, which was almost certainly made at Canterbury, although the pictures are copied, the version of the first part is Roman. Up to psalm 100 this version is always maintained, although the illustrations are not always in the same style and some pages have been left blank, the artist evidently not having been at work for some time and from some

cause or other. The psalms 98 and 99 are missing; from ps. 100 to ps. 111 the pictures are in the original and best style; but from ps. 100 the Gallican version is used, in place of the Roman. There are indications, however, that the scribe was not quite used to the new version. For instance, one blind mistake shows this and also that the scribe actually had before him the Utrecht Psalter: In ps. 101 (v. 4.) of the latter we read 'Et ossa mea sicut *gremium* (for *cremium*) aruerunt', the original scribe having added by mistake the short tail to the uncial 'C' by which the uncial 'G' was made. The scribe in the Harley Psalter has copied the mistake with a good Saxon 'G'.

Other examples could be given of the way in which the old English Roman versions of the psalms were in the course of the eleventh century corrected into the Gallican version, to which alone the Norman conquerors were used, but sufficient has been said to explain what may now be set down about the psalms in the Bosworth Psalter.

The version of the psalms in this Psalter is the Roman throughout. Some time in the twelfth or thirteenth century probably an attempt has been made to utilize the pages of this fine volume for the purpose of writing a glossed commentary. In order to do this it became necessary to change the old version into the version then in use—the Gallican, and in all places where the commentary has been written the version has been changed. This is the case with psalms 1 to 39, which occupy the first 22 folios and in other places some 10 folios. The corrections in the text are made in various ways: the word is erased altogether as the word 'fuit' in the large letters on folio 1, which is not in the Gallican version: the word to be deleted is underlined, as in the case of 'fecerit' (fol. 1. b.) and the word of the Gallican 'faciet' is written above. So in ps. 17, v. 21, the original has 'innocentiam' which is underlined and 'puritatem' set above it, and in verse 40 the word 'omnes' is lined as indicating its deletion. The psalms 33 and 71 are good examples of the corrections necessary to alter the Roman into the Gallican. As these corrections occur only when the glossed commentary is written, it may be taken as granted that the changes were made for the purpose of the gloss. Of the rest of the psalms some 38 have an interlinear gloss in Anglo-Saxon; but no portion of the Psalter

used for the glossed commentary has any Saxon translation.

The very special—indeed unique—interest attaching to the Bosworth Psalter, is the fact that the psalms are written for the purpose of being used in the recitation of the Benedictine Office. On turning over the leaves of the volume the inquirer cannot fail to notice that certain psalms have large capitals for the first few words, and that verses in some special cases have larger initial letters with no very obvious reason to the ordinary student. But to any one acquainted with the monastic Office the meaning is plain. The beginning words of the 20th psalm *Domine in virtute*, for example, are in big letters because it is the first psalm of the Matins for Sunday. In the same way the 26th psalm shows by the large lettering that it is the first psalm of the second nocturn for the same day; and so too psalm 32 is noted with the same lettering as being the first psalm at Matins of Monday; psalm 45 as the first of Tuesday; psalm 68 as the first of Wednesday, and so on.

Again in psalm 68, (*Salvum me fac*) there is, at a verse about half way through the psalm, an initial letter—an E—of considerably larger size than the rest. This is where the *division* of the psalm is made in the monastic Office of Matins for Wednesday. In the same way the division of the 77th psalm in the Matins of Thursday is indicated by a capital initial letter. So too psalms 138, 143, 144 are divided into two portions according to the direction in St. Benedict's Rule: 'Psalmi dividendi sunt, centesimus trigesimus octavus, et centesimus quadragesimus tertius et centesimus quadragesimus quartus.'[1] In regard to the last of these three the first word of the division in the Bosworth Psalter, 'Confiteantur', is in large painted capitals, as it is the beginning of the vesper psalms for Saturday, which Office formed of course the beginning of the Sunday observance. At the division of the 143rd psalm in the Psalter are the words: 'Divisio institutionis Benedicti', that is, the division ordered in St. Benedict's Rule, as has been pointed out.

It seems clear from all this that the Bosworth Psalter was expressly designed and made for the actual recitation of the Office according to the Rule of St. Benedict. That it has been

[1] Cap. xviii.

well used appears from the discoloured lower corners of the pages as contrasted with the upper ones. Certain marks for pauses in recitation and certain accents, to prevent mistakes in quantity or to assure the pronunciation of short syllables which might otherwise suffer elision, suggest, as does also the size of the volume, that this psalter was made for use in public recitation. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that in the *Venite* psalm, which forms the Invitatory of Matins, neums added possibly somewhat later, give the tone to which it was to be sung. Indeed the neums throughout the volume point to the same conclusion.

4. THE CANTICLES OF LAUDS

The Canticles at Lauds in the Bosworth Psalter are the same as are ordinarily found in similar manuscripts. They are taken from various parts of the Old Testament and are used as one of the psalms at Lauds in the Office of the Roman Church. Saint Benedict adopted the practice and directed (cap. xiii.) 'that the Canticle out of the Prophet be said, each on its own day, according to the practice of the Roman Church' and of course they form part of the Benedictine Office at the present day. Thus the Psalter gives in order (1) *Confitebor tibi Domine* the canticle from Isaias (cap. xii.) for Lauds of Monday. (2) *Ego dixi* the canticle of Ezechias from Isaias (cap. xxxviii.) for Tuesday. (3) *Exsultavit cor meum*, the canticle of Anna, the mother of Samuel, from the First Book of Kings (cap. ii.) for Wednesday. (4) *Cantemus Domino*, canticle of Moses from Exodus (cap. xv.) for Thursday. (5) *Domine audivi auditum*, the canticle of the prophet Habacuc (cap. iii.) for Friday. (6) *Attende cœlum et loquar*, the canticle of Deuteronomy (cap. xxxii.) for Saturday, and (7) the *Benedicite* for Sunday. In regard to the canticle *Attende cœlum* for Saturday, on account of its length St. Benedict directed that it should be divided and take the place of two psalms. Accordingly in the Bosworth Psalter, at the usual place of division there is the following rubric: 'Divisio beati Benedicti.' The version used in the Bosworth Psalter is practically the same as that found in Vespasian A 1, and other early English manuscripts. It differs from the vulgate version and is most like that of the *versio antiqua*.

These canticles are followed in order by the *Quicumque vult* (the Athanasian Creed); the *Te Deum; Magnificat; Benedictus* and *Nunc dimittis*, all with Anglo-Saxon interlinear glosses, and by a Litany of the Saints, written at a later period.

5. THE HYMNAL

This section of the Bosworth MS. is unique in connection with an Anglo-Saxon psalter. It affords an additional proof that the volume was intended for use in the public recitation of the Divine Office. There are in this part about one hundred hymns for the canonical hours during the course of the year, and for feasts of Saints. They are practically the same as those in the *Anglo-Saxon Hymnarium* published by the Surtees Society (Vol. xxiii.) from MSS. of a considerably later date. The only hymn occurring in Bosworth and not in the Surtees volume is one for feasts of confessors, beginning 'Summe confessor sacer et sacerdos,' which is found not only in the Mozarabic Breviary and the Mozarabic Psalter recently published by the Henry Bradshaw Society, but also in tenth century collections of hymns elsewhere on the continent.

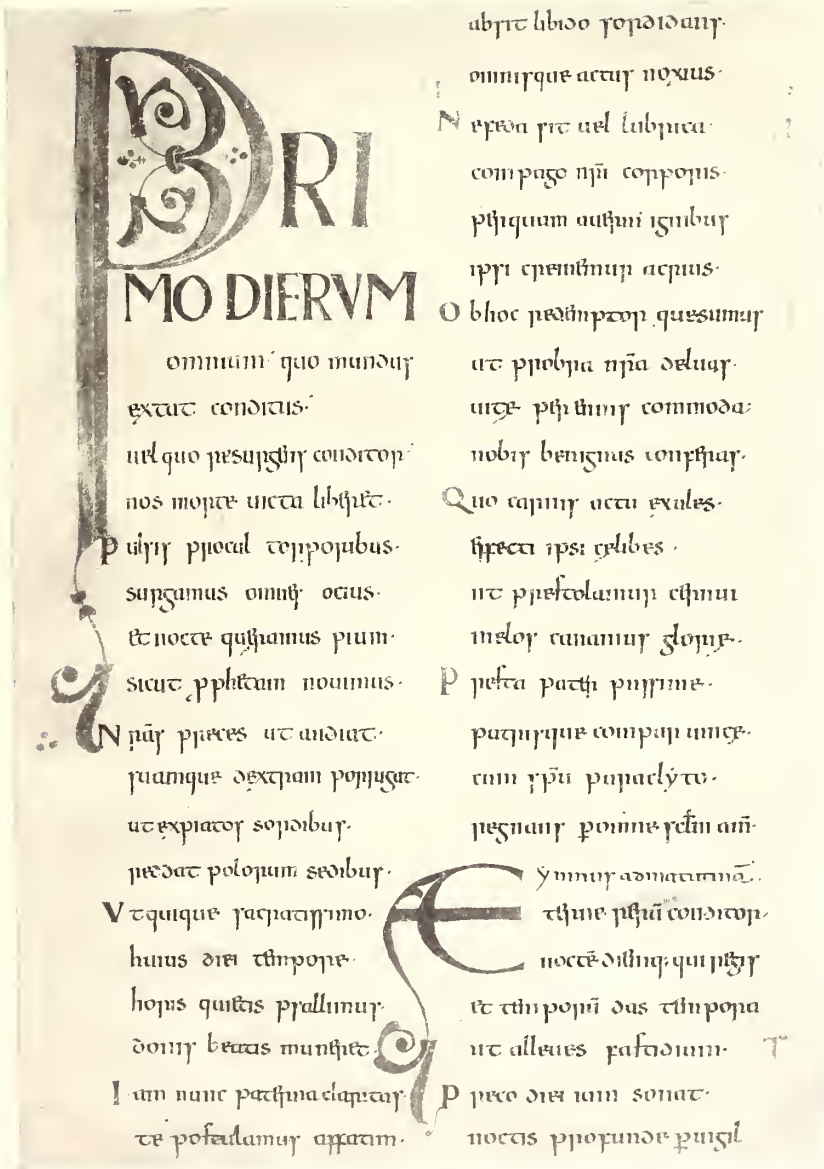
It is to be remarked that the Bosworth hymnal contains hymns for no English Saints.[1]

Three of the hymns have musical notation written in fine neums. These are 'Lucis Creator optime' (Vespers of Sunday throughout the year), 'Iste confessor' and 'Christe splendor glorie' (both for feasts of confessors). The tones of the first and third have not yet been identified. The second, 'Iste confessor', agrees almost exactly with the melody of the same hymn in a Worcester MS. of the thirteenth century,[2] and, though the variants are here greater, with that given from a Sarum source in 'Plainsong Hymn Melodies'.[3]

[1] The following hymns for Saints' days printed in the Surtees volume are absent from Bosworth: St. Dunstan, St. Augustine of Canterbury, the Assumption, St. Gregory (a special verse in hymn for Apostles) and St. Edmund the king.

[2] Worcester Cathedral Library, MS. 160.

[3] p. 17, No. 59. Published by the Plainsong and Mediæval Music Society.


RI
MO DIERVM
omnium quo mundus
extat conditus
uel quo presulem condidit
nos mortis uicta libidine
Patris precamur filiis
supplicamus omnes ocius
ut nocte quassamus precem
sicut ipsi nouimus
Ne pius preces ut audiat
nostrasque deprecans gemitus
ut expiatos sordibus
piacula donet omnibus
Vtquique nostrum hodierno
huius diei tempore
hostis quietis prelatum
domus beatas munditie
Iam nunc pectora claudicant
te postulamus affatim
abigit libido sordidans
omnisque actus noxius
Nec ira uel superbia
compago nec cupidus
pectusque nostrum sauciet
ipsi crescendo accrescat
O Christe precamur quesumus
ut proles nostra deleat
ingere patrium commoda
nobis benignus conferat
Quo casti recti quales
spectet ipse celebres
ut prefulgamus clarius
melos canamus gloriae
Per pacta patris proprie
pacemque compar unice
cum spiritu paraclito
regnans per omne seculum
Eya nunc accendens
tu lux mentium conditor
nocte discretis qui regis
et tempori das tempora
ut alleves fastidium
Precor diem iam sonat
noctis profunde pugil

FIRST PAGE OF THE HYMNAL

Special interest attaches to this portion of the Bosworth MS., since it gives us the earliest known form of the Hymnal used in England.

6. THE CANTICLES FOR THE THIRD NOCTURN

Saint Benedict in his Rule (cap. xi.) directs that when the Matins are said with three nocturns, after the close of the second nocturn lessons, 'three Canticles from the Prophets, such as the abbot shall appoint are to be sung.' The discretion thus left to the abbot was in practice soon abrogated in favour of fixed canticles for the third nocturn. These were apparently brought together and written at the end of the hymnals. Thus Aelfric in his letter to Eynesham (circa 1005) on the use of the *Concordia Regularis*[1] says that 'three canticles proper to the time or festival' are to be sung 'as they are set forth in the hymnals.' In two early hymnals in the British Museum (Julius A VI and Vesp. D XII) these selected canticles may be found following the hymns. It is doubtless because the hymnal is given in the Bosworth Psalter, that in accordance with this rule the Canticles for the third nocturn also appear there, and they complete the volume as a full liturgical book.

As they are set forth in the MS. they are the following:

I. *De Dominicis per Annum.*

1. Domine miserere nostri. (Is. cap. xxxviii.)
2. Audite qui longe estis. (Ejusdem.)
3. Miserere Domine plebi tuæ (Ecclus. cap. xxxviii.)

II. *De Adventu Domini.*

1. Confortate manus dissolutas. (Is. cap. xxxv.)
2. Consolamini, consolamini. (Ejusd. cap. xl.)
3. Juravit Dominus. (Ejusd. cap. lxii.)

III. *In Nativitate Domini nostri.*

1. Populus qui sedebat. (Is. cap. ix.)
2. Lætare Hierusalem. (Ejusd. cap. lxvi.)
3. Urbs fortitudinis. (Ejusd. cap. xxvi.)

[1] Printed in the *Obedientiary Rolls of Winchester*, edited for the *Hampshire Record Soc.* by Dean Kitchin pp. 173-86.

IV. *Cantica in Septuagesima.*

1. Deducant oculi mei. (Jer. cap. xiv.)
2. Recordare Domine. (Thren. v.)
3. Tollam vos de gentibus. (Ezech. cap. xxxvi.)

V. *De Resurrectione Domini.*

1. Quis est iste qui venit. (Is. cap. lxiii.)
2. Venite revertamur ad Dominum. (Osee, cap. vi.)
3. Expecta me dicit Dominus. (Soph. cap. iii.)

VI. *De omnibus Apostolis.*

1. Qui sponte obtulistis de Israel. (Judic. cap. v.)
2. Qui propria voluntate optulistis. (Ejusdem.)
3. Vos sancti Domini vocabimini. (Is. lxi.)

VII. *Cantica (de Confessoribus.)*

1. Benedictus vir qui confidit. (Jer. cap. xvii.)
2. Beatus vir qui inventus est. (Ecclus. cap. xxxi.)
3. Ecce servus meus suscipiam. (Is. cap. xlii.

VIII. *De Virginibus.*

1. Audite me divini fructus. (Ecclus. cap. xxxix.)
2. Lauda filia Sion. (Soph. cap. iii.)
3. Gaude et lætare filia Sion. (Zach. cap. ii.)

It is necessary to add that these Canticles, as in the case of those used at Lauds, are not from the Vulgate version but are most like the *Antiqua.*

The two remaining items of this important MS. do not require any notice here: the copy of the Preface, Canon of the Mass and the late Mass of the Holy Trinity with neums. We may be excused if we again emphasize the fact that the Bosworth Psalter is in more ways than one unique among similar English books, and that more than any other known early manuscript, it partakes of the character of a complete volume for the public recitation of the Divine Office by those who follow the Rule of St. Benedict.

II. THE CALENDAR

OF the English calendars of the tenth and eleventh centuries one, that found in the so-called Leofric Missal, bears so close a resemblance to the calendar of the Bosworth Psalter, that there can be no doubt both are representatives of a common original. As this original is more faithfully preserved in the calendar of the Leofric Missal, it is of importance for the present enquiry first of all to come to a clear understanding of the character of this latter document; and then we may be able to proceed, with such safety as acquired knowledge may reasonably promise, to a due appreciation of the calendar in the Bosworth Psalter. The editor of the Leofric Missal has rightly explained in his Introduction (see pp. xxvii, xliii-liv) that the calendar which he prints is really a calendar of Glastonbury and was written before the close of the tenth century. Hereafter then it will be designated as 'G' whilst the calendar contained in the Bosworth Psalter will be called 'B'.

1. THE GLASTONBURY CALENDAR

A feature common to G and B is peculiar to them among the extant calendars of the Anglo-Saxon period; it is the presence of the letter 'F' or 'S' prefixed to the names of certain saints. No time will be spent here in discussing, or guessing, the precise words which these letters are intended to represent; but it is of importance to recognize what it is they are meant to designate. As to this the explanation is simple and not open to doubt; they designate the contents of the *Sanctorale*—that is, the collection of proper masses of saints—of the mass-book for which the calendar was written. By 'proper mass' is meant a mass the prayers of which are special, and peculiar to a particular saint. To understand the case of the calendar G it is necessary to go higher up and start from the point to which all the mediæval mass-books trace up their origin.

When Charlemagne (about A. D. 800 or a few years before) introduced into, or imposed on, the churches of his dominions

the Sacramentary (or mass-book) then in use in Rome and now commonly called the *Gregorianum*, a Supplement was compiled under his directions or patronage, almost certainly by Alcuin, to facilitate the use and extension of this mass-book among his subjects. In that Supplement no addition whatever was made to the body of proper masses for saints contained in the Roman book. But very soon afterwards further proper masses for saints began to be added on the fly-leaves of the missals, or as an additional supplement. The selection, or collection, of these additional masses of saints varied from MS. to MS. or church to church, according to individual or local preferences. By the middle of the ninth century such additional masses began to be intercalated at their proper places according to the date of the feast, in the *Sanctorale* of the *Gregorianum* itself.

With this preliminary explanation the symbols 'F' and 'S' become clear, and to the calendar entries marked with these symbols in G attention is for the present to be understood as restricted.

(1) The entries marked with these symbols comprise in the first place the whole series of the masses of saints and masses for fixed feasts contained in the Sacramentary called the *Gregorianum*,[1] eighty-nine in number, with the nine exceptions detailed in the footnote. It is easy to see a reason for exception in nearly all of these nine cases.[2] The Gregorian *Sanctorale*, or body of saints' masses, is thus the great basis of the calendar G and of the mass-book for which it was written.

[1] By *Gregorianum* is meant that document only which is described and accounted for in an article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* vol. iv. p. 411 seqq.

[2] Eight names are omitted: 28 June St. Leo; 1 Aug. St. Peter's Chains; 14 Aug. the Vigil of the Assumption; 29 Aug. St. Sabina; 1 Nov. St. Cæsarius; 23 Nov. St. Felicitas; 29 Nov. St. Saturninus; 25 Dec. St. Anastasia. St. Leo, the Vigil of the Assumption, St. Felicitas, St. Saturninus and St. Anastasia are doubtless omitted because on these days there are two masses for different feasts in the *Gregorianum* and 'G' has preferred to give only one. St. Sabina and St. Cæsarius fall out on account of the newer feasts (both of a high grade) falling on their days viz: All Saints and the Beheading of St. John Baptist. For the omission of St. Peter's Chains no explanation is necessary here further than this, that as a fact the feast is absent from several Anglo-Saxon calendars and the omission seems from an early date traditional. In regard to the ninth case, the Vigil of St. Laurence is entered at 9 Aug. but no letter 'S' is prefixed.

(2) Into this Gregorian *Sanctorale* have been introduced several masses drawn from mass-books in use in France before the time of Charlemagne. Such masses fall into two categories : (*a*) those found in the older Roman mass-book called the *Gelasianum*, and introduced with that book from Rome into France at an early period; and (*b*) those masses which in imitation of Roman models were written for feasts actually instituted in France in the course of the eighth (or in some cases indeed in the seventh) century. For the present purpose it is not necessary to distinguish between these two categories. The symbols 'F' and 'S' given in the calendar G shew that twenty-one of such masses were included in its mass-book. They are the following:

13	Jan.	Octave of Epiphany	20	Sept.	Vigil of St. Matthew
25	„	Conversion of St. Paul	21	„	St. Matthew
22	Feb.	Chair of St. Peter (at Antioch)	22	„	St. Maurice and Companions
3	May	Invention of Holy Cross	30	„	St. Jerome
9	June	SS. Primus & Felician	9	Oct.	St. Denis and Companions
12	„	SS. Basilides etc.	18	„	St. Luke
25	July	St. James Apostle	27	„	Vigil of SS. Simon and Jude
17	Aug.	Octave of St. Laurence	28		SS. Simon and Jude
25	„	St. Bartholomew	7	Dec.	Octave of St. Andrew
29	„	Beheading of St. John Baptist	21	„	St. Thomas Apostle
9	Sept.	St. Gorgonius			

and perhaps, in addition 28 Aug. St. Augustine of Hippo.

Proper masses for the foregoing occur in MSS. of the eighth century or earlier.

To this class may be added St. Genovefa (3 Jan.), St. Matthias (24 Feb.), St. Benedict at 21 March, and All Saints (1 Nov.), proper masses for which feasts have not occurred in MSS. earlier than the first half of the ninth century, although doubtless these formulae themselves are of an earlier date.

(3) A third and very small class comprises feasts which became generally current in missals only in the course of the

tenth and eleventh centuries, represented by three entries: 19 May St. Potentiana; 21 July St. Praxedes; 23 July Saints Vincent and Apollinaris. I do not know where to find the text of proper masses for these saints at so early a date as the tenth century. With this class must be counted 9 March The Forty Martyrs; and 14 May SS. Victor, Quartus and 404 martyrs. As to these (probably mere survivals from an earlier age) it is impossible to say anything without entering into full details as to the antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon church calendar for which this is not the place.

(4) There remain the local, i. e. English, feasts noted with the symbol 'F' or 'S'. They are seven in number:

20 Mar.	St. Cuthbert bp.	24 Aug.	St. Patrick the elder
11 Apr.	St. Guthlac, anchorite	31 „	In Glaston St. Aidan bp.
24 „	St. Mellitus abp.	25 Sept.	In Glaston St. Ceolfrid abb.
26 May	St. Augustine abp.		

Of these the feasts of SS. Cuthbert, Guthlac and Augustine are noted with 'F', the others with 'S'. From the entries dealt with under (1) and (2) above it appears that 'F' represents feasts of a higher grade, 'S' of a lower. Moreover as we can from the analogy of contemporary missals be practically certain that each one of the feasts belonging to these classes (1) and (2) had proper mass-prayers in the Glastonbury missal for which G was written, it is reasonably to be conjectured that the English saints belonging to at least this fourth class were also represented in that missal by proper masses.

The entries noticed above under (1) (2) (3) (4) comprise the whole of those marked in G with the distinguishing letters 'F' and 'S'.

(5) The following further feasts of British, Irish, or English saints occur in the calendar G for which it is to be presumed no proper mass was given in its mass-book, the mass said being of the 'common' of martyrs, confessors, virgins:

12 Jan.	Benet (Biscop) abb.	2 Mar.	Chad bp.
29 „	Gildas the Wise	17 „	Patrick bp.
1 Feb.	Bridget virg.	5 June	Boniface bp. and m.

22	June	Alban m.	10	Oct.	Paulinus bp. of Rochester
23	„	Etheldreda virg.	11	„	Ethelburga virg. (of Barking)
19	Sept.	Theodore abp.	12	„	Wilfrid bp.

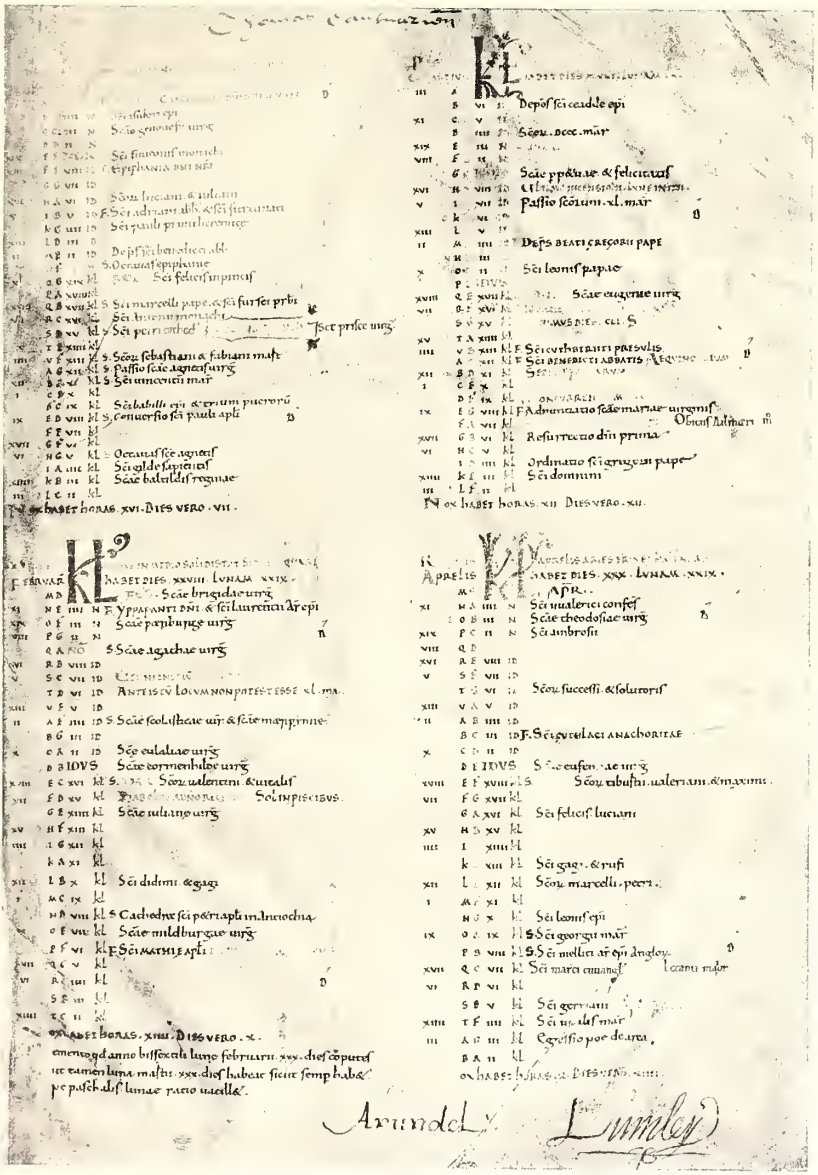
(6) The remainder of the very numerous entries to which 'F' or 'S' is not prefixed in the calendar G may be most conveniently designated as 'martyrological' entries. These items of our ancient calendars seem to be commonly neglected or ignored; yet in fact they are the most important of all for ascertaining the real filiation or relationship of documents of this class. Thus, when two calendars present in common such a series of 'martyrological' entries as G and B do in, for instance, the months of April and December, the closeness of their relationship is indubitable; as thus:

8	Apr.	Successus and Solutor	5	Dec.	Delfinus & Trofimus
16	„	Felix and Lucian	14	„	Spiridion
19	„	Gaius and Rufus	16	„	Victor and Victoria
3	Dec.	Claudius and Felix	23	„	Sixtus and Apollinaris

Any one of these entries, or a combination of two or three, might perhaps be found in other calendars; it is the large number of such 'martyrological' entries common to both G and B that is so significant and constitutes such strong evidence of their common origin. This will appear in a clear light by a comparison with some other calendar of the Anglo-Saxon period. We may take as an example the two Winchester calendars of the first half, or middle, of the eleventh century printed in Hampson's *Medii Ævi Kalendarium* I 422 seqq., 435 seqq. Of the 'martyrological' entries of April and December given above from G and B, not one occurs in the two Winchester calendars.

In order further to illustrate the agreement and differences among themselves of these four calendars (G, B, Cotton MSS. Vitellius E xviii of Winchester Cathedral and Titus D xxvii of the New Minster of Winchester) it will suffice in this place to give a table from the month of January as a specimen:

	Glastonbury	Bosworth Ps.	Vitellius E xviii	Titus D xxvii
2 Jan.	Isidore	Isidore	Oct. of Saint Stephen	Oct. of Saint Stephen
3 „	Genovefa	Genovefa	Oct. of St. John	Oct. of St. John
9 „	Fortunatus	Fortunatus	Translation of St. Judoc	Translation of St. Judoc
12 „	Benet Biscop	Benet Biscop	blank	blank
15 „	blank	blank	Maurus abb.	Maurus abb.
19 „	Maria & Martha	blank	Branwalator	Branwalator
24 „	Babillas and Three Children	Babillas and Three Children	Babillas and Three Children	blank
30 „	Aldegundis	Baltildis	Baltildis	Baltildis



FIRST PAGE OF THE CALENDAR

Thus the month of January shows that there are present two distinct calendar traditions; and also, by the entries of the 24th and 30th, how each is beginning to affect the other. If the whole year be gone through in the same way it will be seen how the Glastonbury and Bosworth Psalter calendars agree together as against those of Winchester.

Over and above the substantial identity of the two first named, B presents a particular item of evidence that it and G both derive from Glastonbury. Glastonbury itself is mentioned in two entries in both G and B, but only one such entry is common to the two MSS., viz: at 25 September: 'In Glaston St. Ceolfrid abbat'. G has also at 31 August: 'In Glaston St. Aidan bishop' where B has only 'St. Aidan bishop'; G has at 24 August 'St. Patrick the elder' only where B reads 'St. Patrick the elder in Glaston'. It is certain then from all these considerations that the compiler of B had before him a Glastonbury calendar but not that which is now found in the Leofric Missal; and both G and B appear as independent derivatives from a common original.

2. THE CALENDAR OF THE BOSWORTH PSALTER

Now that the relationship existing between G and B as against other calendars of the later Anglo-Saxon period has been pointed out and exemplified, and the nature of G has been explained, we are in a position to examine the variations of B from G.

We may first consider the differences in the grading of feasts.

In a certain number of cases where the significant 'F' or 'S' is found in G, it is not given in B. These cases are:

3 Jan.	Genovefa	- - - -	class	(2)	in § 1 above
14 „	Felix in Pincis	- - -	„	(1)	„
9 Mar.	Passion of 40 martyrs	- -	„	(3)	„
25 Apr.	Letania maior ('F')	- -	„	(1)	„
28 „	Vitalis m.	- - - -	„	(1)	„
1 May	Philip and James ('F')	-	„	(1)	„
13 „	Ded. of the Church of St. Mary (the Pantheon)	- - -	„	(1)	„
14 „	Victor, Quartus and 404 mm.		„	(3)	„
25 May	Urban	- - - -	„	(1)	„

28 June	Vigil of SS. Peter and Paul	class	(1)	in § 1 above
20 Sept.	Vigil of St. Matthew - -	„	(2)	„
27 Oct.	Vigil of SS. Simon and Jude	„	(2)	„
29 Nov.	Vigil of St. Andrew - -	„	(1)	„

With the exception of 9 March and 14 May these are all feasts for which proper masses are found in the mass-books of the eighth and ninth centuries. Are we to say that these proper masses were omitted in the missal which stands behind the calendar B? Or are these omissions merely an instance of that kind of inexactness which is so often found on a comparison of derivative with original, or of derivatives whereof one is some steps further removed than the other from the original? Seeing that most of these days have a proper mass in the later mediæval missals generally and in those of the tenth century universally, it seems safer to conclude that the omission of 'F' or 'S' in these cases is due merely to the inexactitude or carelessness of the scribe of **B**.

On the other hand a certain number of feasts appear in **B** with the significant letter 'S' or 'F' where it is wanting in **G**. These are:

10 Feb.	Scholastica virg.	19 Sept.	Theodore abp.
18 May	Mark evang.	24 „	Conception of St. John Bapt.
22 June	Alban mart.	31 Oct.	Vigil of All Saints (? or Quintin)
23 „	Etheldreda virg.	13 Nov.	Brice
11 July	Benedict abb.		
3 Aug.	Finding of the Body of St. Stephen		

The reasonable presumption is that the insertion of 'S' in these cases (or in the case of St. Alban 'F') indicates (however the case may be as regards a proper mass) some heightening of the grade of observance for these feasts in the church for which **B** was written. And it is important to note, for the history and popularity of cults in the later Anglo-Saxon Church that the significant 'F' (used to indicate such feasts as the Epiphany, the four feasts of the Blessed Virgin, SS. Peter and Paul and the

the other Apostles) is found in both calendars before the entries of the following feasts:

12 Mar.	St. Gregory	26 May	St. Augustine
20 „	St. Cuthbert	11 Nov.	St. Martin
21 „	St. Benedict	23 „	St. Clement
11 Apr.	St. Guthlac		

No comment is necessary as regards St. Gregory and St. Augustine. The high grade assigned to the feast of St. Benedict in March, when taken in connection with the fact that the feast of the Translation in July was not specially marked in G at all and stood in the rank of a mere 'martyrological' entry, whilst in B it is raised only to the grade of 'S', is of great significance in its bearing on the obscure questions concerning the early cult of St. Benedict at Fleury and Monte Cassino and is one of the very numerous items of evidence which go to shew that the early tradition of England consistently and exclusively connected the practical cult of St. Benedict with his death in March and burial at Monte Cassino, and not (as in Frankish lands) with the feast of July commemorating the translation of his relics to Fleury about the middle of the seventh century. The high grade assigned to the feasts of St. Cuthbert and St. Guthlac is interesting but is due not so much to local cult as to considerations concerning their mode of life, and in the tenth century may be rather viewed as a survival having its roots in the quite early history of English hagiological tradition.

But special attention must be called to the inclusion of Saint Clement in these feasts of the higher grade. In the calendar of the psalter MS. 150 of the Salisbury Cathedral Library which cannot be much later than the middle of the tenth century, and in that of the so-called 'Portiforium S. Oswaldi' C. C. C. C. MS. 391 (a Worcester calendar commonly assigned to the year 1064) St. Clement's day is marked with a cross like the feasts of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin and the others of the highest consideration and observance. This distinction lasted for some time after the Conquest; in the calendars of Arundel MSS. 60 and 155 (to be considered later) the name of St. Clement is distinguished by capital letters, and in the first of these two also

by the cross distinguishing the feasts of highest grade. An explanation of the prominence given to St. Clement's day is afforded by the so-called Anglo-Saxon Poetical Menology of the tenth century. This piece professes to give the list of feasts the general observance of which was prescribed by royal authority, and among the very small number other than those of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, and the Apostles, is the feast of St. Clement (Hickes, *Thesaurus* I. 207). Notwithstanding the opinion of Lingard as to this document, the documentary evidence afforded by both calendars and collections of Anglo-Saxon homilies for the Church Year substantially bears out, so far as the feast of St. Clement is concerned, the statement of the author of the Poetical Menology.[1]

We may now examine the changes, by addition or omission of names of saints, which the compiler of the calendar B, with a Glastonbury calendar like G before him, made in that model to adapt it to the requirements of the church for which the new calendar was to serve.

First of all, the names of one hundred and forty-six saints have been omitted. Of these seven are the names of Frankish saints:

30 Jan.	Aldegundis	17 Sept.	Lambert
6 Feb.	Amandus	1 Oct.	Germanus
11 „	Radegund	3 „	Leodegar
9 Sept.	Audomarus		

Two are 'local' or insular:

17 Mar.	St. Patrick[2]	11 Oct.	Saint Ethelburga (of Barking)

[1] Lingard's view (*Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, Ed. 1845, I, 314 n. 2) that the Menology 'is plainly from its contents the calendar of some monastery of Benedictine monks' is to be explained in some measure by defective knowledge, in some measure by certain well-understood and rooted prejudices of a kind commonly proper to trouble historical judgement. He had allowed his interests to become engaged as a partizan in the standing cause of 'secular *versus* regular', and he suffers accordingly.

[2] As first written B seems to have contained the name of St. Patrick. There is an erasure at 17 March, the two letters 'ep' of 'episcopus' can still be traced; the erasure may have been made by the copyist of the calendar [I leave this note; for correction of it see § 9].

The remaining one hundred and thirty-seven names omitted[1] are all of the class designated above, § 1 (6), as 'martyrological' entries; and their omission results in a distinct modernizing of B as compared with G.

For the investigation of the origin of B its additions to G must be reviewed in detail. They fall into five groups.

(*a*) Six such additions are 'martyrological': 8 Jan. Lucian and Julian; 20 Feb. Didimus and Gaius; 20 Apr. Marcellus, Peter; 16 May, Eugenia; 18 Nov. Barralus; 14 Dec. Spiridion. To these may be added 25 and 27 July, St. Christopher and the Seven Sleepers, perhaps borrowed from Winchester.

(*b*) Five feasts of the Gregorian Sacramentary omitted in G (see § 1 (1)) are restored: 28 June St. Leo, 1 Aug. St. Peter's Chains, 29 Aug. St. Sabina, 29 Nov. St. Saturninus, 25 Dec. St. Anastasia. Three feasts of Apostles of a different origin are inserted: 18 Jan. St. Peter's Chair, 11 June St. Barnabas, 3 July Translation of St. Thomas.

(*c*) Certain modern saints are added of the region of Ponthieu: 16 Jan. St. Fursey, the Irish founder of the monastery of Péronne; 2 Apr. S. Valericus; Audomarus at 8 June; 26 June Salvius (Valenciennes); 16 July Bertin; 20 July Wulfmar; and one Norman saint, 22 July, Wandregisil the founder of Fontenelle.[2]

(*d*) St. Ethelburga of Barking, except Etheldreda the only English woman saint in G, is omitted in B. B adds ten:

3	Feb.	St. Werburgh of Chester.
10	„	St. Merwinna of Romsey.
13	„	St. Ermenilda of Ely.
23	„	St. Milburga of Wenlock.

[1] Of these, 19 Jan. SS. Mary and Martha, 16 Sept. St. Euphemia, 11 Dec. St. Damasus with 2 Oct. St. Leodegar, have proper masses in mass-books earlier than the ninth century; but as the letter 'S' is not prefixed to these entries in G it is improbable that the mass-book for which G was written contained such proper masses and the entries of these five names these would thus be merely 'martyrological'.

[2] It may be noticed in passing that this is a different series from the set of feasts of saints of the same region in the calendar of MS. Digby 63, assigned to the later part of the ninth century (*Missal of Robert of Jumieges*, Introduction, pp. xxxi-xxxii). The body of St. Wandregisil was the chief item in the famous translation of relics by Arnulf Count of Flanders in 944 to the monastery of Mont Blandin near Ghent where St. Dunstan spent his time of exile 956-957.

18 May St. Elgiva of Shaftesbury.
15 June St. Edburga of Winchester.
6 July St. Sexburga of Ely.
7 „ St. Ethelburga of Faremoutier.
8 „ St. Withburga of Dereham in Norfolk. translated to Ely in 974.
13 „ St. Mildred of Kent.

Of these holy women only Ermenilda and Sexburga of Ely, Elgiva of Shaftesbury, and Edburga of Winchester appear in the Winchester calendars. Moreover at 30 Jan. Baltildis queen of France, abbess of Chelles, and a native of England is in B substituted for Aldegundis who stands at this date in G. From the list itself just given it clearly appears that the inclusion of these women saints in B is not determined by mere local considerations.

(*e*) The following English saints complete the additions made by the compiler of B to the calendar G which he had for his model:

9 Jan. Adrian, abbat of St. Augustine's, Canterbury.
2 Feb. Laurence, archbishop of Canterbury.
19 May Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury.
25 „ Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne.
17 June Botulf, abbat in South Lincolnshire.
2 July Swithun, bishop of Winchester.
8 „ Grimbald, abbat at Winchester.
15 „ Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury.
16 „ Translation of St. Swithun
17 „ Kenelm, of Mercia.
5 Aug. Oswald, king and martyr of Northumbria.
30 Sept. Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury.
17 Oct. Nothelm, archbishop of Canterbury.
2 Nov. Rumwald, of Buckingham.
10 „ Justus, archbishop of Canterbury.

In this list Wessex, East England, Mercia, Northumbria, and the East Midlands are each represented by one saint; Winchester by two; Canterbury by seven.

On an analysis of the additions made by B to the model calendar G it appears with unmistakable evidence that B is

a calendar, and represents a mass-book, of Canterbury.[1] The date of B will appear from the following considerations: it contains the feast of St. Dunstan but not that of St. Elphege. The cultus of St. Dunstan began almost immediately after his death in 988 and soon became general; St. Elphege was martyred in 1012 and his relics were translated from London to Canterbury in 1023. The calendar accordingly falls between 988 and 1023; and, it is to be observed, may for anything that appears quite as probably have been written near the first of these years as near the second. In any case the calendar B is the only one at present known belonging to Canterbury which certainly dates from a period anterior to the Norman Conquest.

3. THE CHANGES AT CANTERBURY UNDER LANFRANC

The British Museum possesses at least four calendars of Christ Church Canterbury of various dates ranging from about the middle of the thirteenth century to the fifteenth.[2] The differences of these calendars among themselves are slight and concern mostly the grading of feasts; and they all witness to a single and now fixed tradition. But when compared with B they are found to present a singular and extensive series of changes; and that, even less in regard to purely local names (though the change here too is radical) than in regard to those feasts called above in section 1, 'mass-book' and 'martyrological', which make the groundwork and are the substantial part of the calendar. This means that extensive changes have also been made in the mass-book and the breviary, of which books the calendar is in the later middle ages the indiculus, or, so to speak, the formal programme.

In order to give an idea at once of the character and the

[1] What has been said hitherto on the relation of calendar and mass-book is to be understood only of G and B and with limitation as above.

[2] These are: Cotton MS. Tiberius B III ff. 2-7, which contains the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas (1220), but not the feast of St. Edmund abp., and probably therefore is of about the middle of the thirteenth century; Egerton MS. 2867 ff. 423-424 of about the same date; Additional MS. 6160 ff. 2^{b}-8^{a} of about a century later; Sloane MS. 3887 ff. 13^{a}-20^{b} of the early part of the fifteenth century. The first and third are the most important and authentic of these documents for the history of the later calendar of Canterbury Cathedral.

extent of these changes it will be enough to take the month of January again as an example. The following entries found in B are omitted in the Canterbury cathedral calendars of the thirteenth and following centuries:

2 Jan.	Isidore.	17 Jan.	*Antony monk*
3 „	*Genovefa.*	18 „	St. Peter's Chair (at Rome).
5 „	Simeon monk.	24 „	Babillas and the Three Children.
8 „	Lucian and Julian.	29 „	Gildas.
9 „	Fortunatus.	30 „	Baltildis.
10 „	*Paul hermit.*		
12 „	Benet abb.		

The entries in the four later calendars not found in B are:

2 Jan.	*Octave of St. Stephen.*	15 Jan.	Maurus.
3 „	*Octave of St. John.*	23 „	Emerentiana.
4 „	*Oct. of Holy Innocents.*	25 „	Prejectus.
13 „	Hilary.		

The same kind of revision, by omission and addition, is found throughout the year. When these changes are considered as a whole, only one conclusion is possible, viz: that the post-Conquest calendar of Canterbury cathedral has not been built up on, and is not a mere modification of, the pre-Conquest calendar B, but another calendar stands in its place, or has been substituted for it.

How did this come about? The answer lies ready at hand in the calendar of the Arundel MS. 155, a psalter of the eleventh century. This MS. at the Dissolution belonged to Christ Church, Canterbury (the cathedral). Numerous different hands ranging from the fourteenth century up to the twelfth (or even perhaps the eleventh) have entered in the calendar as originally written by the first hand many additional feasts, thus gradually restoring one after another several of those ancient ones, and some of the local ones, that are found in the calendar B. Of these additions the earliest (with one exception to be mentioned later) seems to be that at 4 May which is carefully entered in red. This entry is as follows: "Dedicatio ecclesie Christi Cantuarie"; and refers to the dedication of the cathedral in the year 1130 which is

recorded by our annalists generally. On examination, the Arundel MS. 155 presents in regard to the calendar B the omissions and additions (except the feasts in italics) that have been pointed out in detail just above for the month of January as presented on a comparison of B with the later mediæval calendar of Canterbury cathedral; and the case holds good through the year. In other words it becomes on full comparison evident that the calendar of Arundel MS. 155 as originally written offers the groundwork on which the later calendars of that cathedral have been built.

Moreover this further fact appears: that the Canterbury cathedral calendar in the MS. Tiberius B III. of c. 1240-1250 is the calendar of Arundel MS. 155 *plus* additions made in that calendar by various hands as explained above. The calendar of Tiberius B III. omits indeed a certain number of feasts found in the calendar of Arundel MS. 155 as originally written, and gives a few entries not added by later hands in that MS. But these additions or omissions are not such, or so numerous, as to invalidate, or affect, the statement made above, as will appear from the following figures and details.

(*a*) Tiberius B III. contains fifty-nine more entries of feasts than the original Arundel 155; of these fifty-nine, forty-nine are found as additions to this latter calendar in various hands.

(*b*) Of the ten not so added three are archbishops of Canterbury: 15 July Deusdedit; 30 Sept. Honorius and 16 Nov. Aelfric.[1] Three are, 2. 3, 4 Jan. the octaves of SS. Stephen, John and Innocents. The other four are: 5 Jan. St. Edward

[1] This seems to be the earliest certain witness to the liturgical cult of archbishop Aelfric. In Arundel MS. 155 at 2 June is the entry 'Odonis arepi' in faded yellow like the entry at 25 May of the octave of St. Dunstan, the characters being like those of the entry of the dedication of 1130. This is possibly an entry of Odo's feast not an obit, and so to be added under (*a*). The entry of Lanfranc's name in this and the later calendars at 28 May (sometimes as 'Transitus Lanfranci') is doubtless only to be taken as a specially honoured obit and not as a 'proof of cult'; the iii lc. at this day refers to Germanus bp. The entries in Tib. B III. of Basil (1 Jan.), Longinus (15 March), Mary of Egypt (2 April) and Nicodemus, Gamaliel and Abibon (3 Aug.) are not items of the practical calendar but rather due to scribal caprice. The same is to be said of e. g. 'Theophili' at 28 Feb. in Egerton MS. 2867. That this is so appears from a comparison of the other calendars still extant.

the Confessor, 17 June Botulf abbat, 25 July 'et cucufatis' (a commemoration), and 25 Dec. Anastasia.

(*c*) The feasts omitted are twenty-five in number, and can be for the most part probably explained as e.g. cults fallen out of fashion etc., not to dwell on the need of disburdening the existing calendar to accommodate it for the large number of additions that were made as detailed above.[1]

The calendar of Arundel MS. 155 being thus identified as giving the original form from which the later Canterbury cathedral calendar was developed, the enquiry next suggests itself, what is the character, source, origin of the form in Arundel 155? We need not go far afield to find the answer. Simplified by several omissions, and a few additions, Arundel 155 is the post-Conquest calendar of Winchester represented in a calendar of a MS. psalter now Arundel MS. 60; which last named calendar itself is substantially the same as that in use before the Conquest as preserved to us in a MS. of about the middle of the eleventh century now Cotton MS. Vitellius E xviii. already mentioned above as printed by Hampson.[2]

What is involved in the foregoing statement is this: that

[1] The list of omissions is as follows: Genovefa, Paul the hermit, Antony monk, Mary and Martha, Ermenilda, Donatus bp. (1 March), Edward king and m., Leo pope (11 April), Guthlac anchorite, Eufemia (the duplicate feast of 12 April), Erkenwald bp., Athanasius bp., Potentiana v., Petronella v., Nicomedes m. (1 June), Boniface bp., Medard bp., Translation of St. Swithun, Kenelm m.,Samson bp., Translation of SS. Birinus and Cuthbert, Lucia and Geminianus, Conception of St. John Baptist, Cæsarius, Birinus bp., Translation of Benedict abbat (4 Dec.). St. Potentiana seems to have been entered originally in Tib. B iii. at 19 May, St. Dunstan's day, and to have been erased.

[2] The omissions of Ar. 155 as compared with Ar. 60 are fifty-one in number, whereof twenty-two are local (i.e. English) saints. The additions are sixteen; but it is important to observe that seven of these though not occurring in the Winchester calendar of the later years of the eleventh century (Arundel 60) are found in the Winchester calendar Vitellius E xviii. of about the middle of the eleventh century; these seven feasts may thus not improbably have stood also in the calendar of intermediate date from which (as will be explained below) Arundel 155 derives. The remaining nine are real additions to the Winchester original; viz: 3 Jan. Genovefa; 25 Jan. Prejectus; 3 Feb. Blasius bp.; 10 Feb. Austroberta; 28 May Germanus bp. (of Paris); 26 June (Salvius); 13 July Mildred; 1 Nov. Cæsarius; 23 Nov. Felicitas.

during the archiepiscopate of Lanfranc, that great and strenuous prelate abolished the existing and traditional calendar of his church of Canterbury and substituted for it by his authority that of the church of the capital of his master's newly acquired kingdom, Winchester. The story of the discussion between archbishop Lanfranc and Anselm then recently elected abbat of Bec on the question whether St. Elphege was really a martyr and so entitled to liturgical cult has been repeated over and over again by our modern historians and biographers of Anselm.[1] That conversation took place in the spring, and apparently the early spring, of 1079. Here it will be in place to give the words by which Eadmer the Englishman introduces the story: 'What was done or said between the revered pontiff Lanfranc and the abbat Anselm in those days can be well understood by people who knew the life and dispositions of both of them. But those who were not personally acquainted with them may gather what they were from this (and herein I express my own opinion as well as that of many others) that no one in those days excelled Lanfranc in authority and manifold experience of affairs, and no one surpassed Anselm in holiness and godly wisdom. Lanfranc moreover was *quasi rudis Anglus*—had not got beyond the mere rudiments of Englishry—nor had he yet been able to accommodate his mind to certain well-settled traditions which he found in England. Wherefore, whilst he changed many of them relying on grounds that were reasonable, some he changed by virtue solely of his great authority. And so whilst he was busy over these changes' etc. . . . then follows the story as to St. Elphege so often repeated for us.[2] It was in this way, that

[1] It may be needless to say (though it is here said *pro majori cautela*) that no question of 'canonization' was involved; this (after the method of the times) had been settled long since and the strictly liturgical cult of St. Elphege was already established, as the calendars &c. shew, throughout the country. The question which troubled the mind of Lanfranc was whether Elphege should be allowed to maintain his position or whether he should be turned out of the calendar, and his cult, so far as his own cathedral church of Canterbury was concerned, put an end to.

[2] 'Erat præterea Lanfrancus quasi rudis Anglus; necdum sederant animo ejus quædam institutiones quas reppererat in Anglia. Quapropter cum plures de illis magna fretus ratione tum quasdam mutavit sola auctoritatis suæ deliberatione. Itaque dum illarum mutationi

is by sole virtue of his authority, that, against the wish of the English-minded of his community (if we may judge of them by Eadmer) he summarily suppressed the now traditional English feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin and cast it out of the calendar and church books altogether. Again we have but to cast a glance at the list of feasts in his monastic statutes for Canterbury cathedral[1] to see that in regard to the feast of his own patriarch St. Benedict, and his own compatriot too in a sense, Lanfranc simply trampled under foot the old English tradition of honouring with high observance the feast of 21 March; this practice was derived, it is certain, if not from St. Augustine himself direct, at least from the 'disciples of his disciples' as Bede calls them. But Lanfranc does not even include it among his third grade feasts; and puts instead of it in the place of honour, among the most 'magnificent' feasts of the year, the Gallican feast of St. Benedict, the translation in July.

The calendar of the Arundel MS. 155 as originally drawn up is a record of the primitive and 'rude' phase of Lanfranc's liturgical reformation in the ancient Church of which he was now archbishop. The names of only two of his predecessors occur in it, St. Augustine and St. Elphege; and this agrees with his statutes (Wilkins I. 343). Dunstan, the saint of ancient English days who, if any, commanded from the very time of his death profound religious veneration among his countrymen, whose liturgical cult was universal in the first half of the eleventh century, is conspicuous by his absence. As originally drawn up the calendar of Arundel MS. 155 too shewed at 19 May only the feast of St. Potentiana. To this entry has been added with capital letters 'et sancti Dunstani episcopi;' that this is an addition to the primitive entry seems to me evident, but from the handwriting it must have been made at a very early date and is

intenderet' &c. (*De Vita Anselmi* I 42 ed. Gerberon; I 30 ed. Rule). If the Canterbury calendar was in fact radically changed in the later part of the eleventh century, and (as Eadmer clearly implies) in 1079 Lanfranc was engaged in considering changes in that calendar, this would have a very practical bearing on the question of the actual date of Arundel MS. 155.

[1] Printed by Wilkins under the year 1072; but this assignment of date is quite arbitrary.

practically contemporary; and it would thus be the first sign in the MS. of returning Englishry.[1]

The next sign is probably the entry of the octave of St. Dunstan at 26 May, seemingly in the same hand as the entry of the dedication of 1130. For the twelfth, thirteenth, and early fourteenth centuries additions were made (as said above) by successive hands and they are of a very miscellaneous character; some witness to cults like St. Faith, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Katherine, St. Leonard, etc. which became widely spread among the devout people in the twelfth century; some few are of English saints, as St. Paulinus of Rochester and St. Wilfrid restored to the 10th and 12th of October. But the calendar of the church of Canterbury in the later middle ages never recovered that strongly marked type which makes the calendar of the Bosworth Psalter like the contemporary document, the tract on 'The Resting Places of the Saints,' a compendium as it were of the saintly memories of a now united England.[2] The names of most of the ancient archbishops never reappeared. In the course seemingly of the twelfth century, to SS. Augustine, Dunstan, and Elphege were added at 19 Sept. Theodore, at 21 Oct. the Ordination of St. Dunstan, at 16 Nov. the Ordination of Saint Elphege; the feast of the Ordination of St. Gregory is also

[1] In contrast to Lanfranc in his Statutes stands St. Anselm, in whose private prayers is one (N° 73) to St. Dunstan,—the only one addressed to an English saint (Migne *P. L.* 158. 1007-1009; Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan* pp. 450-453). It seems not improbable that this prayer is to be brought into connection with the restoration of St. Dunstan to the Canterbury cathedral calendar. The occurrence of the word 'cathedra' (for Adelard's 'solium', Osbern's 'thronus') is a narrow basis on which to assume (as bishop Stubbs has done) Anselm's acquaintance with the Life of St. Dunstan by Eadmer rather than any other (*Memorials* p. 453 n. 1). On a comparison of the historical recital in the prayer with the relative accounts in Adelard (pp. 64-65), Osbern (pp. 120-121) and Eadmer (pp. 217-218) it seems clearly derived from one or other of the two first; some words point rather to the one, some rather to the other. The passage 'Quod a Deo gratiæ quocunque vadit' (col. 1009 C. p. 453) seems however distinctly to settle the case in favour of Adelard (cf. pp. 67-68); besides, it would be not unnatural that the writer of the prayer should follow Adelard whose 'Life' of St. Dunstan is no more than the twelve lessons which had been traditionally read at matins in Canterbury cathedral on St. Dunstan's feast. It is a pity, be it said in passing, that bishop Stubbs should have been led to assign the mass of St. Dunstan printed by him pp. 442-443 (as to the real age of which we know nothing) to 'A. D. cir. 1070'.

[2] Cf. the remarks of F. Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands* (Hannover, Hahn, 1889) p. xii.

revived, but now at 3 Sept. instead of at the end of March.[1] The calendar of Tiberius B III. adds at 21 April St. Anselm, at 2 June St. Odo (†959) and at 16 Nov. a commemoration of 'St. Ælfric abp. and confessor' († 1005); and the feast of St. Adrian abbat of St. Augustine's is revived at 9 Jan. The foregoing (except Ælfric) maintained their liturgical ground in the services of the cathedral to the end. In one calendar (Tiberius B III.) the name of the archbishop Deusdedit († 664) is revived at 15 July, in another (SloaneMS. 3887) archbishop Bregwin († 765) is entered at 26 August, in a third (Egerton MS. 2867) Ethelgar († 989) at 12 February; but these three never obtained a recognized place in the official calendar, directive of divine service, of the church of Canterbury in the later middle ages.

4. CHRIST CHURCH OR ST. AUGUSTINE'S?

It may, however, be said: As the Bosworth calendar is of Canterbury and differs so radically from the late mediæval calendars of Canterbury cathedral, may it not, after all, be a calendar of St. Augustine's?

The ancient missal of that abbey, C. C. C. C. MS. 270 of the close of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth, contains like B masses for early archbishops of Canterbury; for all those in B indeed, except for St. Nothelm. The question then is one that calls for examination, and for an answer here.

One calendar at least that is certainly of St. Augustine's still exists; it is contained in the MS. E 19 (ff. 32^a—37^b) of the Canterbury cathedral Library and was written some time between

[1] The ordination of St. Gregory is at 30 March in G., the calendar of the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, and the two calendars assigned to Worcester C. C. C. C. MS. 391, and MS. Bodl. Junius 99; at 29 March in B, and the calendars of Salisbury cathedral MS. 150, the Red Book of Derby C. C. C. C. MS. 422, Digby MS. 63 (which, by the way, seems certainly not a Winchester calendar), and the post-Conquest calendar of Winchester Arundel 60. The feast is not in the pre-Conquest Winchester calendars Vitellius E XVIII and Titus D XXVII, the very curious calendar in Cotton MS. Nero A II seemingly of the early eleventh century, nor in the calendars of MS. Bodl. Douce 296, Cotton MS. Vitellius A XVIII, and Arundel MS. 155. G. B. de Rossi in the Prolegomena to the Hieronymian Martyrology pp. xxxii-xxxiii has ingeniously argued that the ordination in question is that of Gregory IV in 828. But this will not hold; for it occurs 29 Mar. in a hand of the first half of the eighth century in St. Willibrord's calendar Paris B. N. MS. Lat. 10837 and doubtless is there intended for St. Gregory the Great.

1252 and 1273.[1] On examination, however, it is found that the groundwork of this calendar also is the calendar of Winchester; and (the entries of the names of the early archbishops excepted) it as little resembles B as does the calendar in Tib. B III. already examined. In other words, granting that B is a calendar of Canterbury, the same sort of substitution took place after the Conquest both at the cathedral and St. Augustine's. The presence in the ancient missal just cited of six of the seven early archbishops entered in B is easily and naturally explained, not merely by the actual existence of their relics at St. Augustine's, but by the solemn translation of these six at St. Augustine's in the year 1091.[2] And the absence of Nothelm's feast as found in B fixes the connection of the masses in the missal with that translation and dissociates it from B.

But there are two particularities of cultus, one concerning St. Augustine's and the other the cathedral, which, after all that has been said hitherto, seem definitely to shew beyond dispute that B is not a calendar of the former but of the latter; or, emphatically, a calendar of the Church of Canterbury. A characteristic, and peculiar, feast of St. Augustine's is that of Saint Lethardus, Queen Bertha's Frankish chaplain, whose liturgical cult, so far as is yet known to me, was confined to that sole monastery. This feast is found not only as a feast of some distinction (ranking with the Conversion of St. Paul, St. Cuthbert etc.) in the calendar of 1252-1273 but in the missal C.C.C.C. MS. 270. it also has a proper mass (ed. Rule, 1896, p. 87). Neither feast nor mass, it may be safely assumed, was of Norman introduction; and the cult was traditional in the house. The name of St. Lethardus does not occur in B.

On the other hand B has on 26 June, as an addition to the old 'sacramentary' feast (see § 1 (1)) of SS. John and Paul, the

[1] This appears from the fact that the obit of abbat Robert († 1252) is entered in the original, that of abbat Roger II († Dec. 1273) in a later hand. These are the two last obits of abbats in the calendar.

[2] This thirteenth century calendar contains besides the names of these six at their proper days, the names of archbishops Tathwin († 734) at 31 July (as a feast of three lessons) and Jambert († 790) at 12 Aug. as a feast of some distinction; as to Jambert's burial at St. Augustine's see in Twysden, *Decem Scr.* 1295, 1642. These are doubtless late introductions (of the twelfth or thirteenth century) like Odo and Ælfric at the cathedral.

following: 'et sancti Salvi martyris.' This is a Canterbury addition and not found in G. This feast maintains its place in all the successive calendars of Canterbury cathedral from Arundel 155 in the eleventh century to the end, fixed at this date and with regular liturgical cult (twelve lessons in Tib. B. III; eight lessons in Egerton 2867, Add. MS. 6160, Sloane 3887). The saint in question is St. Salvius of Valenciennes,[1] said to have been martyred towards the close of the eighth century. In the eleventh century or even earlier he was commonly and erroneously believed to be a bishop of Angoulême; but no such bishop has occupied that see. The Lambeth MS. 159, a very curious collection of pieces relating to local liturgy and hagiology brought together by a monk of Christ Church Canterbury not long before the Dissolution, contains at fol. 111[b] a so-called 'Passio' of 'Saint Salvius of Angoulême', described in the margin with this title: 'How the bones of St. Salvius, bishop, were brought to Canterbury', and detailing how a gift of relics of 'St. Salvius bishop of Angoulême' was made to Canterbury cathedral by William the Conqueror in 1085 and the thirteenth year of archbishop Lanfranc. For anything this narrative says we might have been led to conclude, or imagine, that this was the first introduction of the cult of St. Salvius into Canterbury. The calendar B shews that this is not the case. Fortunately too B does not stand alone. Harl. MS. 2892 is a Benedictional of Christ Church Canterbury of the first half, or middle, of the eleventh century. This book contains f. 159[b]—160 an episcopal benediction for the feast of St. Salvius which as it is carefully rhymed and generally an interesting example of English liturgical work of the time is printed here.

Benedictio de sancto Salvio episcopo et martyre.

Celestium benedictionum dator, et virtutum largitor, sua vos benedictione exornet, et virtutibus coronet. Amen.
Et qui sanctum Salvium præsulem martirii sui cursum

[1] Known later in France as S. Sauge; to be distinguished from St. Salvius known as S. Sauve, or S. Salve, patron of Montreuil, and bishop of Amiens apparently early in the seventh century, often himself confounded with various other persons called Salvus or Salvius.

feliciter fecit consummare, vos faciat in bonis omnibus infatigabili devotione perseverare. Amen.
Sit ipse pro nobis intercessor studiosus, qui hodie triumphali agone peracto cœlos intravit victoriosus. Amen.
Quod Ipse prestare dignetur, etc.

As this episcopal benediction comes between that for the feast of St. John Baptist (24 June) and that for the Vigil of SS. Peter and Paul (28 June) we may be assured that it is for the feast of St. Salvius of Valenciennes (26 June) and no other. Finally the Lambeth MS. 159 already cited contains f. 110^{b}—111^{a} an account of St. Salvius of Valenciennes marked and divided into eight lessons to be read at matins; there can be little doubt (in view of the general character of that MS. as described above) that these were the eight lessons for the feast marked in the fifteenth century calendar of Canterbury cathedral Sloane MS. 3887.[1]

When the facts detailed and the indications given in pursuing the various lines of enquiry opened out in the preceding pages are taken into account, they appear to point to one, and one only possible, conclusion; namely that the calendar B is the calendar that was in use in the later part of the tenth century and the earlier part of the eleventh in the cathedral church of Canterbury; and the difference between B and the calendar of that church in the thirteenth and following centuries proves, when the case is investigated, not to be a valid objection to this conclusion.

To put the case in its due light it would be necessary to pursue the inquiry here initiated and point out how, as a result of the Norman Conquest, the imposition of the calendar of the capital city of Winchester on the venerable metropolitical and

[1] A copy (doubtless not 'diplomatically accurate') of the so-called *Passio* and of the eight lessons contained in the MS. Lamb. 159 occurs in British Museum Addit. MS. 36, 600 ff. 11—12. St. Salvius is also found at 26 June in the calendar of Salisbury MS. 150 and in that of Cotton MS. Nero A II. Both are clearly west-country calendars. The Salisbury calendar certainly has some curious affinities with B, although at first sight it appears to be of a quite different complexion. This arises in great measure from the fact that it goes back on a different martyrological tradition from that of G, and consequently of B. The presence of St. Salvius in the Salisbury calendar may perhaps indicate that the cult of this saint at Canterbury cathedral goes back at least to the first half of the tenth century.

mother church of Canterbury, strange as it may seem at first hearing, has about it nothing exceptional, and how other English churches, of ancient and of more modern foundation, had to submit to a like experience. Thus when the York and Exeter calendars of the close of the twelfth century, or the calendars of the printed uses of Hereford and Salisbury, are analyzed and resolved into their various elements, after account is taken of local peculiarities, changes of vogue in devotions and cults, and of a certain independence and choice in adaptation, what is found at the base of them all is neither more nor less than the calendar of the church of Winchester of the eleventh century.[1] This is not the time or place to enter on even a rudimentary treatment of the subject; for the due understanding of which there is need of a printed Table in a plain, simple and practical form without textual niceties, shewing in parallel columns the contents of all the extant Anglo-Saxon calendars with a certain number of calendars of later date.

There is nothing exceptional or indeed really strange in a radical revolution of the kind indicated in regard to the calendar in England. Winchester, it must be repeated, in the eleventh century was the capital of the kingdom, a united England; and the analogies in all ages and regions (in spite of the familiar exception of 'Sarum') go to show how, as if by constant rule or predominant attraction, the usages and liturgy-books of the church at the seat of the civil authority and kingly power succeed in the long run in modifying, and often in supplanting, the customs or usages of churches whose pre-eminence is only ecclesiastical. So far as concerns the present case it seems clear that Winchester was already exercizing this influence in a marked way at the time

[1] That is, as represented by the calendars in Vitellius E xviii. and Arundel 60; the Winchester missal at Havre assigned by M. Delisle to about A. D. 1120 is interesting as shewing the further variations and substantial identity of this calendar for another generation; and the eleventh century calendar in Titus D xxvii. is of course useful in illustration. The calendar of the missal of Robert of Jumièges, like all English calendars of the eleventh century, shews (as is natural) marks of Winchester influence; but when it is examined as a whole, and analyzed, it seems to me that its affinities really are with what I may call the west-country group; and, of course, it is unsafe to draw any conclusion from the isolated appearance of St. Tibba at 29 December.

of the Conquest.[1] But the question that properly suggests itself here is this: at what date did the change of calendar take place at Canterbury? The answer, at least at present, can be only by way of conjecture more or less probable; since it depends on the results of enquiries on more lines than one which, at least in a definite and accurate manner, can as yet hardly be said to have been begun among us. It has been pointed out above (p. 30 n. 2) that the Canterbury calendar of the Arundel MS. 155 shews in its list of feasts indications of having been derived from an earlier recension of Winchester than that of Arundel MS. 60 of the late years of the eleventh century, and from one in some respects more nearly resembling that of Vitellius E xviii of about fifty years earlier, and therefore intermediate between these two. It is at the same time to be observed that the psalms in Arundel MS. 155 are the Roman version, but corrected by another hand into the Gallican, whilst in the Arundel MS. 60 the version, with slight lapses into the Roman, is the Gallican. And this seems to accord with the indications furnished by the calendars of these two MSS. as to the respective dates of the two books. Such variations between them, in both calendar and psalm-text, find (it would seem from what has been said above) their natural explanation in the history of the changes in divine service and the liturgy consequent on the Norman Conquest. The conjecture that has thus been made as to the probable date of the change at Canterbury arises merely on an examination of the contents of the psalters themselves; but it finds, in fact, countenance in the well-known narrative of Eadmer as to the cult of St. Elphege from which it would clearly appear that Lanfranc actually had the reform of the calendar of his church under consideration early in the year 1079.

[1] Many years ago the late Dean Henderson pointed out (*York Pontifical*, Surtees Soc. 1875 vol. 61 p. xxiii) how bishop Leofric of Exeter in his additions to his missal, used a Winchester book and copied without change forms that were applicable to Winchester alone. The Pontifical now C.C.C.C. MS. 146 seems to be another instance of the spread of Winchester influence at the close of the eleventh century, this time at Worcester (see Henderson, *ubi supra*, pp. xvii and xxx); and there are items in the Worcester calendar C.C.C.C. MS. 391 which seem to point in the same direction.

SINCE the foregoing section was in type the Bosworth Psalter has been purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum. Strictly speaking the object in view of which the tract on the Calendar was written is attained, and there the matter might be allowed to rest. But it is sometimes well to listen to adverse counsel; and, to say the truth, in penning the tract, which is better called by the technical title of 'Consultatio', I was conscious also in a remote way, of real dissatisfaction with the manner in which documents of the nature of Calendar B are commonly dealt with.

To exemplify this it is not necessary to go further than the calendar G. As we peruse its bald list of mixed names, we desire if possible to know the exact nature of the document; what its elements are; how the precise items making up each element come together, and how it happens that these particular elements, and not others also, make up the calendar. We want to know the genesis, the past history of the Glastonbury calendar, its place among its contemporaries and its relation to similar documents, that come after it in point of time. We may read the dozen broad pages which the editor of G has devoted to its examination, with the many lists of names in small type and the considerable apparatus of dates, and, at the end of it all have to admit to being in the same state of enlightment as when we began, and with a feeling that this is not wholly our own fault.

In these circumstances I must own to having cherished some sort of vague hope that the treatment of the calendar B in this tract might at least suggest another way. This hope now determined me not to lose interest at the stage of page proof and to go forward. But there was a drawback to this course. If the print were to be useful now it appeared necessary to say more on some matters than is found in the preceding Consultation. Strictly speaking I think that what is there said ought to be enough if the restricted scope of the tract with its one single and precise object, viz. the discussion, elucidation and placing of B., is borne

in mind. To keep the treatment of the case within reasonable limits it was necessary to presume a knowledge of the history, or origin, or fate of this or that particular cult, or (what is called now-a-days) 'cultual' tendency; to touch on it in a line or two and to dismiss the subject as known. But I readily allow and submit to the fate that should attend presumption; and what follows here must be discursive, informal, and I am afraid also lengthy.

Any one who has taken the trouble to read the foregoing section will have seen how the discussion turns on the real character of the calendar in MS. Arundel 155. The argument endeavours to explain how a calendar substantially that of the church of Winchester superseded the ancient calendar of Christ Church Canterbury preserved in the Bosworth Psalter. In the course of this statement the calendar in Vitellius E XVIII is taken as representing the calendar of the church of Winchester[1] about the middle of the eleventh century; Arundel 155, the new calendar of Christ Church after its reformation by Lanfranc; and Arundel 60 as a post-Conquest calendar of the church of Winchester.

To introduce what has to be said let us imagine a discourse somewhat of the following tenor: 'If we examine the calendars of 'Arundel 155, Arundel 60 and Cotton MS. Vitellius E XVIII it is 'clear that the predominant local element is the number of saints 'of the church of Winchester. In Arundel 155, for instance, 'there are but two local Canterbury feasts whilst there are no less 'than five of the Church of Winchester.[2] In Arundel 60 the 'specifically Winchester feasts are fourteen in number if we 'include at 18 October St. Justus;[3] whilst in Vitellius E XVIII the 'Winchester commemorations have risen to sixteen, not to 'mention the second feast of St. Eadburga on 18 July, since 'it may be open to doubt whether the Eadburga in question is 'really the Winchester nun. These three MSS. are all indubit-

[1] In speaking of the calendar of any church in pre-Conquest days we must of course bear in mind that we may not assume a formalized diocesan observance such as was introduced in the later middle ages by the fixation of uses in the 12th and 13th centuries. This later idea must not be assumed as applicable to the state of things before the Conquest.

[2] 2 July Swithun, 15 July Translation of Swithun, 4 Sept. Translation of Birinus and Cuthbert, 3 Dec. Birinus, 13 Dec. Judoc, which last feast by the eleventh century had become denizen at Winchester.

[3] A great relic of this saint was given to Winchester by Athelstan.

'ably of the eleventh century. Now we know from observation 'that in the case of local cults and so also in calendars the 'law is that of accretion: and in these three MSS. we see how in 'the course of less than a century—perhaps in the space of no 'more than two generations—the modest allowance of five 'strictly local Winchester feasts of Arundel 155 has tripled 'itself. We also observe how in that calendar no saint occurs 'of a later date than St. Elphege of Canterbury whose general 'cult was formally inaugurated by the translation of his relics 'in 1023. We may therefore conjecturally assign it to a date 'nearly coincident with that event, say 1030. The calendar of 'Arundel MS. 60 may be placed approximately a generation 'later, say at latest 1060, and the Vitellius calendar a generation 'later still, about the close of the eleventh century—say about 'the year 1090. It is unnecessary to dwell at length on other 'features of Vitellius E XVIII, besides this local one, which afford 'evidence of its late origin in such cults as that of St. Joseph 'for instance, and of the Conception of the B. V. M., which are 'absent from both Arundel 155 and Arundel 60,' etc etc.

By all this it is not my intention to imply that any such arguments have been or would be adopted by any individual person. This being understood, to make our further progress clear from the beginning it is proper to enumerate, out of the many particular features of these calendars that offer an opportunity for discussion, the four which I propose to examine. They are:

(5) The two feasts of the Conception of the B. V. M. (8. Dec.) and of her Oblation in the Temple at the age of three years (21 Nov.) found in Vitellius E XVIII, but not found in MSS. Arundel 60 and 155.

(6) The Breton feasts, which are more strongly marked in the Vitellius calendar than in the other two.

(7) The entries in Arundel 155 that have relation to relic cults that are specifically characteristic of the cathedral of Christ Church, Canterbury.

(8) The feasts of local Winchester saints as found in Arundel 155.

5. OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE FEAST OF THE CONCEPTION OF THE B.V.M.: AND OF THE FEAST OF THE OBLATION

At p. 32 above the action of Lanfranc in suppressing the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin in his cathedral church of Canterbury has been mentioned. Until within the last half century the famous letter of St. Bernard to the canons of Lyons, commonly assigned to about the year 1140, was the only authentic document that could be adduced as to the origins in the Western Church of what is now the greatly honoured feast of the Immaculate Conception. All the rest was legend around which imagination could play, or not, at will. In 1860 the late Senior of the Bollandists, P. Victor de Buck, called attention in the (Brussels) *Précis historiques* to the information on the subject in the letters of Osbert de Clare, monk and by and by abbat of Westminster, which had been printed some fourteen years earlier. It was not until 1886 that further progress in the enquiry was made. More has been done since; so that it is now possible to base our statements as to the origins of this feast on definite and positive information.[1]

[1] The list given in this note is not intended as a conspectus of what is called the 'literature' of the subject which is vast. Only those items are noticed which, in one way or another, have advanced our knowledge.

(1) P. Victor de Buck, as stated in the text, opened the inquiry as to the origins of the feast of the Immaculate Conception in two articles in the *Précis historiques* (nouv. série, tome ii, 1860, pp. 64-97, 545-582) entitled 'Osbert de Clare et l'abbé Anselme instituteurs de la fête de l'Immaculatée Conception de la Sainte Vierge dans l'Eglise Latine'. With the documents before him this writer could only attribute the origins of the feast to about the years 1127-1130; he knew nothing of the witness of Anglo-Saxon antiquity. The 'abbé Anselme' was St. Anselm's nephew for so many years abbat of St. Edmundsbury.

(2) In ignorance of P. V. de Buck's articles I put together such items as had occurred to me relative to the feast in England before the Conquest and up to about the year 1130 in a paper that appeared anonymously in the *Downside Review* vol. v, 1886, pp. 107-119. This was reprinted separately with two or three pages of Prefatory Note, London, Burns and Oates, 1904, under the title: *On the origins of the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.*

(3) Abbé Vacandard utilizing this paper in his *Vie de Saint Bernard* ii. pp. 78-96 (and in an earlier article in *La Science catholique*, Sept. 1893, not seen by me) placed the whole question in a proper theological and apologetic setting. His new assignment of St. Bernard's letter to about

The following is the story in outline, proceeding from the later stage to the earlier. It is with the period anterior to Saint Bernard's letter of c. 1140 that alone we are concerned; and the scene of the story is in England only. It begins for us with the commotions, disputes and contentions among persons of the highest consideration, settled, as it turned out once and for all, by the London synod of 1129, in a decision for which Wilkins' *Concilia* and our historians generally, except a simple chronicler like old Stowe, may be consulted in vain.

the years 1128-1130 is purely arbitrary. So far as indications of date exist they tend if anything to show the date rather as later than earlier.

(4) In ignorance of all that precedes abbé J. L. Adam in the *Revue catholique de Normandie* (15 Sept. 1895, pp. 115-126; 15 Jan. 1896, pp. 357-392) published two articles entitled 'La Fête de l'Immaculée Conception dite "Fête aux Normands" d'après les quatre bréviaires manuscrits de Coutances conservés à la Bibliothèque de Valognes' where he resided as chaplain to the Dames Augustines. With the limited informations at his disposal and through the method adopted the writer felt able to 'prove' that the feast was celebrated in Normandy in the eleventh century and he concluded that such initiation and primal institution of the feast of the Conception was 'un titre de gloire des plus précieux pour notre province de Normandie qui peut, à bon droit, s'enorgueiller' etc. (Jan. 1896 p. 382).

(5) This called abbé Vacandard into the field once more who, in an article in the *Revue des Questions historiques* (Jan. 1897), after a review of the earlier liturgical books of the diocese of Rouen showed that there is no trace of the feast in Normandy earlier than the twelfth century. He also states: 'l'appellation de "Fête aux Normands" (for this Conception feast) ne semble pas remonter au delà du xiii^{e} siècle' (none of these writers seem to notice Wace's poem published in 1842 by Mancel and Trébutien).

(6) The approach of the Jubilee of the Dogmatic Definition by H. H. Pope Pius IX in 1854 set several pens to work. *The Month*, the English literary organ of the Society of Jesus, in May 1904 printed, pp. 449-465, an article entitled 'The Irish origins of our Lady's Conception Feast' by the Rev. H. Thurston. On this some remarks will be found further on.

(7) In the number of 20 September 1904 of the Paris *Etudes religieuses*, the French literary organ of the Society of Jesus, P. Augustin Noyon published an article 'Les Origines de la Fête de l'Immaculée Conception (x^{e}, xi^{e}, xii^{e} siècles)'. The point of importance is this: that outside Normandy French liturgical MSS. do not mention the feast until the thirteenth century (pp. 27-29 of the separate print). I have reason to think that at this time some considerable pains were taken to enquire into the state of the liturgical evidence and with negative results for the earlier period.

(8) The same year, in conjunction with Fr. Thomas Slater S. J., Fr. Thurston printed (Freiburg, Herder) the most valuable of these Jubilee memorials under the title *Eadmeri monachi Cantuariensis Tractatus de Conceptione Sanctae Mariae nunc primum integer ad codicum fidem editus*

On 16th January 1127 died Richard de Belmeis bishop of London, a prelate who had had a dream of the pallium and of an archbishopric of London, but had been met by St. Anselm with an emphatic 'Never whilst I live'. Whatever may have been Richard's views, on the 8th December following his death Westminster Abbey initiated a novelty in the diocese and celebrated with a certain éclat a feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin. There was an outcry at once. 'It is simply ridiculous', said some; and 'such a thing was never heard of'. These busy, or scan-

adjectis quibusdam monumentis coaetaneis. To say the truth in this little volume I saw the accomplishment of a *vœu* I had for some years entertained but had been unable to fulfil, viz: the confrontation of the tract long since printed in the Appendix to St. Anselm's works (Migne *P. L.* 159. 301 seqq.) with the MS. C.C.C.C. 371 p. 395 seqq., containing the Opuscula of Eadmer by whom alone I had come to believe this tract could have been penned. My interest however would have been confined to illustrating the passage translated in the text just below. But the print of F F. Thurston and Slater is an edition *omnibus numeris absoluta*; and is enriched with those theological indications and elucidations so precious to a layman.

(9) It remains to add one item more. Mere good fortune or happy chance has at length given me an opportunity of examining, but for a few minutes only, the MS. Bodl. Auct. D. 4. 18 (*olim* NE C. 4. 11.) which some fourteen years ago I had noted from Bernard's catalogue as containing the long lost tract on the feast of the Conception against St. Bernard by Nicholas of St. Albans. It seems almost certain Leland (*de Scr.* ed. Hall p.186) had never actually seen this tract, but only one of the later pieces addressed to Peter of Celle who is evidently Leland's 'abbas Remigianus'; he must have made a mistake as to the abbat's name which he gives as 'Hugo'. The title in the Bodleian MS. is in a hand seemingly of the fourteenth century. The absence of a title in the MS. as originally written in the twelfth has alone perhaps saved this copy from destruction. I give here but one extract, the writer's account of the origin of the feast, and then readily hand over the whole for investigation to those who are interested in the subject. The text halts in grammar but runs as follows: '*Legimus enim* quod quidam solitarius singulis annis, multo jam elapso tempore, signanter una vel die vel nocte notata, festivas angelorum voces in sublimi audisset, rogasse dominum attentius quare illo potius quam alio aliquo tempore angelorum concentum audiret; in responsisque accepisse quia illo die beata virgo et mater Dei Maria nata fuerit, et ideo angelos celeberrimi gaudii concentu diem illum recolere. *Legimus nihilominus* quod cum abbas Elsinus' &c. (f. 101[a]). I do not remember to have read elsewhere this story of the solitary which the author gives (seemingly from some written source) as an alternative to the Helsin story. As among the directing and ruling classes in London in 1127-1128 so too here all knowledge of the old English pre-Conquest feast had died out; Eadmer must however have been only one of many then living who kept fresh and treasured their childhood's memories of the former state of things. This seems a pertinent instance how soon in matters of devotion knowledge of recent facts passes out of mind and how easily legend takes its place.

dalized, persons knew what to do and made straight for the back stairs leading up direct to the privacy of the greatest personage in the land. They went to Roger bishop of Salisbury, the king's most trusted counsellor and minister, and Bernard, bishop of St. David's, who had been chaplain of the late queen, the good Matilda. But there was a serious difficulty in the way. Henry, the king himself, had already some time before begged his friend and protégé Hugh, abbat of his own foundation of Reading, to establish there the obnoxious feast; and at the prayer of so great and clerkly a founder this had been done. As time went on the outlook did not improve. In January 1128 Gilbert, surnamed from his learning 'the Universal', a great doctor and divine, was consecrated bishop of London. The innovating party now felt secure on the side of their diocesan also; for Osbert had found some means of sounding his ideas and had discovered he was 'a most catholic-minded man and sufficiently well-instructed' in regard to the particular point at issue. But still there must have been cause for anxiety, and Osbert and his friends were particularly anxious to learn the practice and custom of Rome and to know whether any support of precedent could be obtained from thence in favour of 'the venerable Conception of the Mother of God.' This was a vain hope; Osbert was doubtless little versed in the Roman manner of mind.

Still with the king and Gilbert on their side they were not discouraged, and determined to bring the matter to an issue in the council that met in London at Michaelmas 1129. The result is preserved to us only in a half legendary form in the Tewkesbury Annals *(Ann. Mon.* 1. 45*)* thus rendered by Stowe under this year: 'by authoritie of the pope, the Feast of the Conception of our Ladie was confirmed.' The general history of the feast is sufficient to assure us that the first five words are without foundation unless in a complimentary sense; but it also assures us that the rest of the sentence is substantially true. Opposition in England is no more heard of, but only defence of the feast; and, as the later calendars shew, it soon became in this country practically universal.

Westminster and Reading had had companions and forerunners in the work of instituting (or, as we shall now immediately see,

restoring) the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin of 8 December. In fact the disputes and troubles in London in 1127—1129 had a long, if then commonly forgotten, story behind them. Strange as such a notion may appear to us to-day, to the innovators the observance of this feast was a revindication of ancient English piety, an assertion against new Norman lordliness and learning of a despised and down-trodden Englishry. This is what Eadmar, a hearty and thoroughgoing if political and prudent partizan drawing on his own recollections has to say as to the feast of the Conception:

'In former days it was celebrated more commonly than now, 'and by those chiefly in whom there dwelt a pure simplicity of 'soul and a humble devotion. But when learning of a wider 'range and an all-dominating tendency to enquire into the reasons 'of things had imbued and lifted up the minds of some, this 'new learning, contemptuous of the simpleness of the poor in 'spirit, did away with this solemnity; and, banished it utterly '(*redegit in nichil*) as wanting in reasonableness. And the view 'entertained by these persons had such irresistible force because 'they were pre-eminent in both Church and State, and were the 'wealthy ones of the land. But when I considered within myself 'the simple-mindedness of the men of earlier days and the 'eminent genius of the moderns' . . . some strong and condemnatory, if Scriptural, reflections, occurred to Eadmer that need not be repeated here; any more than the reasons which he reports as adduced by those 'who say that there ought not to be any 'memory [by way of feast] of the Conception of the Virgin 'Mother in the Church'. He then continues: 'And thus 'those acute and able persons, in virtue of their position of 'authority on which they prided themselves,[1] did not scruple to 'abolish what the simple and perfect love of our Lady, that had 'animated those of old time, had established; namely, the feast 'of her Conception. Having thus seen the mode of proceeding 'of the eminent persons who succeeded in doing away with the 'feast of the Mother of God, let us cast a glance at the love of 'the simple folk who lament over the loss of so great a gladness.'

[1] 'Sua (? suae), qua se pollere gloriabantur, auctoritatis ratione'; cf. above p. 31 n. 2, 'quasdam mutavit sola auctoritatis suæ deliberatione'.

Eadmer proceeds to do this by endeavouring for their protection to meet in the rest of the tract reasoning or argument by reasoning or argument.[1]

The article 2 in the footnote p. 43 above gives a list of the pre-Conquest documents known in 1886 as evidencing the observance of the feast of the Conception in the older simpler England, the memories of which, the impressions of his childhood, Eadmer in his old age looked back upon with such affection. These documents were the Winchester calendars in the Cotton MSS. Vitellius E xviii and Titus D xxvii; the Benedictional of Canterbury cathedral Harl. MS. 2892; and another Benedictional, Additional MS. 28188.[2] To the churches of Winchester, with Canterbury and Exeter borrowing from Winchester, it is now possible to add Worcester in, seemingly, the early days of St. Wulstan's episcopate. The calendar of the C. C. C. C. MS. 391, a venerable Worcester book which has received the name of 'Portiforum S. Oswaldi' has this entry at 8 December: 'Conceptio

[1] Eadmer, *De Conceptione Sanctae Mariae* ed. Thurston pp 1-4; Migne *P. L.* 159. 301-303.

[2] This episcopal Benedictional has been commonly called a Benedictional of Romsey Abbey the Hampshire nunnery; but also of Ramsey in Huntingdonshire. The reason seems to be this. In the second and very brief litany of the rite of dedication of a church one virgin saint only is invoked, Ethelfleda of Romsey. The official cataloguist has on this fact concluded summarily that the book was a Romsey book. But the case is more complex; and of the two litanies the first seems to be the more distinctly indicative. On the invocations of SS. German and Patrick stress doubtless must not be laid; but the cult of St. Sativola is to my knowledge a local cult of Exeter which does not extend beyond that diocese. Neither in litanies nor calendars have I been able to find trace of her cult elsewhere although the name has found its way into one or two late martyrologies; e.g. the margin of the martyrology of Christ Church Dublin. Another invocation deserves attention in this longer litany, especially in an English MS. of so early a date, that of St. Olave. Exeter adopted this cult in a manner quite singular. The MS. of the eleventh century that has of recent years been called the 'Collectar of bishop Leofric', Harl. 2961, contains ff. 123^{a}-126^{b} an office of St. Olave different from any of those printed in Storm's *Monumenta historiae Norvegiae* (Kristiania, 1880, pp. 228-271). With one exception, the fragment of a gradual written about 1300, Storm knew of no liturgical material earlier than the printed breviaries. In regard to unaltered copies of Winchester formulæ found in Harl. MS. 28188 see *ante* p. 38 note 2. In view of all the facts of the case the Romsey (or Ramsey) attribution of Harl. MS. 28188 has to be reconsidered and should, I think, certainly be given up.

sancte Dei genitricis Mariae '.[1] The absence of the feast from what I may call the western group of Anglo-Saxon calendars, with their generally archaic and conservative character, is hardly less significant.

I take advantage of the present occasion to indicate the reasons which induce me now to believe, counter to what I thought in 1886, that the feast of the Conception was in fact introduced into England from Southern Italy, or at least under South Italian influences.

This feast of 8 December has to be considered in connection with another found in the two Winchester calendars Vitellius E xviii and Titus D xxvii at 21 November thus: 'Oblatio sancte Marie in templo Domini cum esset trium annorum.' This entry might at first sight appear as if one of that class of 'historical' memoranda so well known in our ancient calendars, like 'Adam creatus est', 'Egressus Noe de arca' etc. But such an impression would be incorrect. In the Canterbury Benedictional Harl. MS. 2892 fol. 186[a] is an episcopal benediction for this feast there entitled: 'De Presentatione sancte Mariae '.[2] Twenty years ago the marble calendar of Naples assigned to the close of the ninth century was the only early western document outside England known to give the feast;[3] and it seemed loose method to knit up the commemorations in our eleventh century English books with it. A glance at the documents set forth pp. 84-85 of T. Toscani's *Ad Typica Græcorum Animadversiones* (Romæ, Typ. de Prop. Fide,

[1] This entry is wanting in the calendar of the Bodleian MS. Junius 99 of about the same date commonly stated to be a Worcester calendar.

[2] It will be as well to print it here.

BENEDICTIO DE PRESENTATIONE SANCTE MARIAE

Benedictionum celestium vos Dominus imbre locupletet, et sanctuaria cordium vestrorum sue habitationis visitatione perlustret, qui beatam Mariam angelico oraculo concipiendam predixit.

Et quae illum qui panis est angelorum in sui uteri habitaculo meruit baiulare, vos diu hic adiuvet et vivere, et post celica regna feliciter penetrare. Amen.

Et sicut sibi congaudetis honoris gratia celebrantes hunc diem quo templum Dei, sacrarium Spiritus Sancti, in aula Dei est presentatum, ita vos faciat purificatis nevis contagiorum unico Filio suo presentari, et in albo beati ordinis ascribi. Amen.

Quod Ipse prestare dignetur.

[3] It does not contain the feast of 21 November.

1864) will shew the need of proceeding cautiously in such a case. Dmitrievsky's volume of Typica (annual Directories of church offices; in English, Pies) bearing the date 1895, with its print of Constaninopolitan documents of as early a date as the ninth and tenth centuries gives us firm standing ground; and now we may conclude with practical certainty that in the Greek monasteries newly founded or revived in Lower Italy, both the feast of the Conception (but on 9 December) and that of the Offering in the Temple (on 21 November) were already received as established and accepted as traditional.[1] It is, I believe, through contact of Englishmen with such Greek monks that these two feasts came to us some time in the early decades of the eleventh century, and were established in the two great and dominant churches, the regal and the primatial, of Anglo-Saxon England.

If the reader feel disposed to meet such an idea at once with incredulity, I would plead at least for suspension of judgement. There has yet to be worked out—and in complete detail, down to matters so trivial as feasts, cults, relics, commerce of books—the question of the relations of England with the Continent from (say) 920 to 1040. We must endeavour too, to realize the trains that followed archbishop after archbishop on pilgrimage in quest of the pallium, and pilgrimages less business-like such as those recorded in the well known extract from the St. Gall Confraternity Book, or the less vulgarized entry in that of Pfäffers (*Mon. Germ. hist., Lib. Confrat.* p. 363); and realize also what these may have meant for the importation of foreign and outlandish ways in so aspiring and modern an England as that of the tenth century, the minds and souls of men and their attractions being what they then were. It might even be that the journey of Canute to Rome, for instance, was the very occasion for the borrowing of these feasts of the Oblation and Conception and that they were adopted from the monastery of St. Sabas in Rome itself.[2] I may be allowed to repeat here what was written

[1] A. Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie liturgbiceskikb rukopisei* etc. I (Kiev, 1895) pp. 25, 29, 203, 205.

[2] Perhaps it may be as well to explain in regard to these words that the practice of 'Rome' is in no wise here in question. It is all a purely Greek affair. 'Rome' eventually, and late, adopted the venerable feast of the Conception of 8 December to keep in line with the rest of the world, and avoid the evil note of 'singularity'. The history and condition of the Roman monasteries at the end of the tenth century and early in the eleventh are little known. The recent excavations

long since in reference to the present question. To assign 'the 'precise time and place where any given feast had its rise, and 'where rites and ceremonies or liturgical institutions originate, is 'always a difficult matter; for they mostly come in without 'observation and their existence is commonly not recorded until 'they have obtained an established footing and have begun to 'spread. All that can usually be done is to follow the way to 'which facts seem to point, and in the end a probability, more or 'less strong, is the utmost that can be arrived at.'[1] Taking this course in the present case and bearing in mind all the relative circumstances as yet ascertained, I think that the probabilities all point in one direction, namely an importation into England about the year 1030, of two feasts observed in Lower Italy among the monks of the Greek revival.[2]

and recent publications of early Roman charters may throw some light on St. Sabas; I can only refer to the narrative in the Life of St. Adalbert by John Canaparius *Mon. Germ. SS.* IV 587-588 which seems sufficiently to indicate that St. Sabas was a safe home of Greek ecclesiasticism. It would not be proper to pass over one point. Although the entries of the 21 November and 8 December in the calendar of the MS. Titus D XXVII seem to be written by the same hand, or the same kind of hand, they do not occupy the space of ordinary entries but begin in the left hand among the numerals and appear to be no part of the original script. In Vitellius E XVIII these entries are part of the original script. As the Titus calendar seems to date from about the years 1020-1030 and the Vitellius some years later it is probable that we have here an indication of the date when these feasts were adopted at Winchester.

Of course any question as to the younger Anselm and his abbacy at St. Sabas at Rome (early in the twelfth century) has nothing to do with the question of the original introduction of the feasts into England (see the *Notula* printed by Fr. Thurston *Eadmeri mon. Tract.* pp. 102-104, which was copied by me from Harl. MS. 1005 so far back as the year 1870 or 1871).

[1] *Downside Review* vol. v, p. 110; separate print pp. 15-16.

[2] I must not leave this question without some observations on another view of the subject put forth by the Rev. H. Thurston, of the Society of Jesus, in the article on 'The Irish Origins of ou Lady's Conception Feast' mentioned above p. 44 note (6). The case, which would admit of large development, presents itself to me as if in a more just light somewhat thus. The chief English document adduced to prove the Irish origination of the feast of 8 December is contained in the so-called Athelstan's Psalter, Cotton MS. Galba A XVIII, and is of a martyrological character with a feast for every day of the year. The observance of such a feast liturgically does not follow. Of the presence of Irish influence in this metrical martyrology of Galba A XVIII there can be no question. It is not necessary to dwell on the presence of Saints Aed and Comgan, Maelruen and Mactail; the entry at 20 April of the feast of the 'Saints of Europe' is enough to

In closing the consideration of the first item to be examined, I return to the imaginary 'discourse' from which we started; and, counter to what is there supposed, conclude from what has been detailed above as follows:

Given three calendars of Winchester of the second half of the eleventh century, one of which shews the feasts of the

orientate us perfectly; this is a purely Irish festival and is included in that ancient storehouse of heortological oddities, the 'Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee'. The calendar of Galba A XVIII seems to me to date from about the days of Athelstan's childhood not of his regality. The entry of the Conception on 2 May ('Concipitur virgo Maria cognomine senis' i. e. 6 non. Maii,) is derived from the same Irish martyrological tradition as the feast of the 'Saints of Europe'. Oengus, who gives other commemorations of the blessed Virgin not known elsewhere in Europe has one at 2 May and signalizes it as 'the great feast of Mary' but says nothing of the Conception; and he has no feast of the Blessed Virgin in December.

I venture to think that the truer interpretation of this Irish May feast of Mary ,which dates at least from the eighth century, is rather of this kind: that we are here in presence of an 'early anticipation' of the May 'month of Mary' of later centuries produced (if I rightly enter into the spirit of Irish religion as displayed in the genuine records of the seventh and eighth centuries) on the soil then most fitted for it. Not indeed that I would suggest any actual and historical connection between this Irish May feast of Mary and the 'Month of Mary' of later piety and other lands. But given the like sort of tempers, and kind of religiousness, we may not be surprised at similar results. It is in vain that Marian feasts are accumulated in the official Calendar of the Universal Church on the fall of the year, September and October, or that to the late Pontiff Leo XIII it seemed well to consecrate every day of the latter month to public Marian devotion. Popular instinct runs its own way and by its own will in such matters as this,in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as in the seventh and eighth, and fixes on the times which it is naturally prompted to observe. Though a traditional respect seems still to guide authority in keeping the great Pentecostal time which follows Easter free from accumulation of Marian feasts, popular instinct makes Mary's month to be now the month of May just as the Irish in the seventh or eighth century inaugurated that month of spring time with a 'great feast of Mary' unknown to the rest of the Western world.

On a full review it seems to me that I should not be following the way to which facts seem to point were I to attribute the origination of the feast of the Conception of 8 December in the Winchester, Canterbury, and other English books of the eleventh century to Irish influence as exemplified on 2 May in the metrical martyrology of Athelstan's days; and that the facts lead us rather to attribute the origination in England of the feast of 8 December and that of 21 November, neither of them found in the Irish documents, to Greek influences in Southern Italy.

I am therefore unable, at least at present, to follow Fr. Thurston in his views on the subject under discussion; including the suggested Irish borrowing from Coptic sources, etc.

The slight shifting of the feast from 9 to 8 December seems easily explicable by the date of feast of the Nativity, 8th September.

Conception of the Blessed Virgin at 8 December and of the Oblation at 21 November, whilst the other two calendars do not, the presumption, in face of the ascertained facts, is that the former would date from before, the two latter from some time after, the Norman Conquest.[1]

6. OF FEASTS OF BRETON SAINTS AS FOUND IN THE THREE CALENDARS

The following is a table of Breton (and Cornish) saints as found in the three calendars:

	Arundel 155	Arundel 60	Vitellius E xviii
19 Jan.	——	——	Branwalator conf.
2 June	——	Petrock	Petrock
28 July	Samson	Samson	——
15 Nov.	——	Machlonus	Machlonus

Judoc may be a cult borrowed by Winchester not from Brittany but from Ponthieu, and its introduction into the Winchester calendars may belong to another part of their history. This is also the case with Samson whose name occurs in the so-called Metrical Martyrology of Bede, and the Metrical Martyrology, or calendar, of Galba A xviii.

There remain the Bretons Branwalator and Machlonus (i. e. Machutus, St. Malo), and Petrock of Cornwall. To what period are we to assign such infusion of Breton and Cornish elements into the calendar of the church of Winchester? Is it pre-Conquest? Is it post-Conquest? Branwalator excites a more particular

[1] The reintroduction of the feast of the Conception at Winchester took place some time before the writing of the missal now at Havre, assigned by M. Delisle to about the year 1120. Both the feast of the Conception and that of the Oblation were revived at Canterbury seemingly in the second half of the twelfth century. They are not given in the original script of the MS. Bodl. Add. C. 260 (as to which see list of MSS. below); but both are found in the calendar of the Eadwine psalter at Trinity College, Cambridge, written before the martyrdom of St. Thomas in 1170. I say 'seemingly' because it is not always possible to view the calendar of a psalter of that date as reliable evidence of practice; these entries may perhaps only mark the rising tide of individual piety that precedes formal and liturgical recognition. Of course the Oblatio of 21 Nov. in the Anglo-Saxon books is an early anticipation of the feast of the Presentation on that day which became common in the later Middle Ages (for which see F. G. Holweck, *Festi Mariani*, Freiburg, Herder, 1892, pp. 267-269).

curiosity. But this name at once suggests king Athelstan, the foundation of Middleton in Dorsetshire, and the relics he gave to that house: 'an arm and many bones of Saint Samson the 'archbishop, the arm of St. Branwalader bishop', besides a relic of the Holy Cross and many other relics in five reliquaries. 'All these relics, bought with a great expenditure of treasure 'from the holy Roman church, from Britain over sea, and from 'many other places, the aforesaid king Athelstan gave to his 'monastery of Middleton' etc.[1] But how did Athelstan get these things from Britain over the seas? Just here a local issue, the *Barnstaple Holy Trinity Parish Magazine* for July 1907, comes opportunely to hand. It gives information which I do not know how to find elsewhere, as follows: [2]

> 'About 350 years after their arrival [i.e. of the expulsed Britons in Brittany in the sixth century] it is noteworthy that a similar cause compelled many of these British exiles to take refuge in their ancestral home. In Merlet's edition of the *Chronicle of Nantes* (Paris 1896) we find the following entry: "At this time (that is when the Northmen were ravaging Brittany) Mathuedoi, Count of Poher, took flight to the English king Æthelstan (*Adelstan*) with a great multitude of Britons, together with his son Alain—afterwards called Twisted-beard (*Barba-torta*)—to whom the same English king Æthelstan

[1] *Monasticon* II, pp. 349-350. It is a pity that an '*Exuviae Sacrae Anglicanae*' say up to 1200 has never been undertaken; but then a first requirement is a scholarship of the kind and measure that distingushed the work of the late Comte Paul Riant. Even a more modest undertaking— a '*Reliquiae Athelstanianae*'—would be of unsuspected use for illustrating the history of England in the first half of the tenth century. We might then hope to be told how, for instance, the precious Cotton MS. Tiberius A II, the Gospel book given by Athelstan to Christ Church Canterbury, was a product of the school of Lobbes when that place was inhabited by some of the most interesting persons in Europe; or why Athelstan while calling himself 'anglorum basyleos' should also designate himself 'curagulus totius bryttannie'—a point not cleared up in such voluminous discussions as those in the late Professor Freeman's *Norman Conquest*.

[2] The extract here given occurs in a series of articles (in the smaller print and delightful to find) entitled 'British Place Names in their Historical Bearing. By Edmund McClure, M.A.' I am unable to cite the publication in which these articles appear under any other title than that given in the text; but at the last moment see that an article on these inscriptions is to be found in the forthcoming October number of the *English Historical Review*.

had been sponsor at the font, and whom on account of the association and friendship of this new birth, he held in great trust." This occurred in the year 931, six years before Æthelstan gained his great victory at Brunanburh over the Danes and their allies. There is, in my opinion, an unexpected light thrown on this record by certain ancient inscribed stones preserved in the church of Saint Mary at Wareham (Dorset), where the exiles may have found a refuge. I have made careful copies of these fragmentary inscriptions, which are all seemingly of the tenth century, and put them together here for reference.

'Built into the wall of the north aisle are two incised slabs, the first reading CATGUG[·]C FILIUS GIDEO, and the second GONGDRIE. A pillar, of which the top is broken off, now in a side chapel, has the remains of two names,—ENIEL·F—UPRIT·I; and, on a fragment of a column, IUDN[OI]—TCIVI. There is also in the porch a fragment of a slab with the following inscription of a much earlier form:—VISCV—FILIVS VI—.It is difficult to believe that a colony of native British Christians could have been living peaceably at Wareham at this period, a place which had in Alfred the Great's time (877) been a great stronghold of the Northmen. Coupling the date of the form of the letters in the inscriptions with the entry in the *Nantes Chronicle*, these records seem to point to Wareham as one of the refuges of the exiles from Brittany mentioned by the chronicler.'

Mr. McClure gives in a note parallelisms drawn from the cartulary of Redon and other sources to the names recorded in the Wareham inscriptions; and adds: 'It is a somewhat singular 'coincidence that the Salisbury Cathedral Library has a Psalter 'of the tenth century [the Salisbury MS. 150 often cited in this 'tract] containing a Litany with numerous invocations of Breton 'saints, and this may well have been brought by the exiles.' I 'gladly here go a little further forward on the line of enquiry thus suggested by Mr. McClure;[1] for this Breton immigration is proper

[1] For Athelstan's later interest in the efforts of these Bretons to recover their native land see the further passage in the Nantes Chronicle, Bouquet VIII. p. 270; and cf. Flodoard *ibid.* p. 190.

to explain the Breton entries in the Winchester calendars now under discussion. These Breton saints do not occur in the Metrical Martyrology of Galba A XVIII. But later Winchester documents witness to a veritable devotional *furore* in Bretonism. The Cotton MS. Galba A XIV, a Winchester prayer book of the tenth and eleventh centuries, of which a brief account is given in the *Downside Review*, vol. XXVI p. 58 seqq., affords us a glimpse of the devotion to Breton saints current at that time among ladies of the higher and educated classes from among which St. Mary's nunnery at Winchester must at that time have been recruited. In one of the litanies in this book, ff. 93^{b}-94^{a}, comes a group of invocations thus: 'branwaladre, canidir (?), santfrit (?), siloc, triohoc (?lioc), tula, twioric, geroce, cherane'. The MS. is much burnt and the names may be to some extent misread; but here it is enough to have called attention to their presence. In another litany of the same volume, f. 77^{b}, St. Machutus is invoked among the sainted bishops of Winchester. This was not accidental but premeditated; we can get a glimpse of the way in which Machutus came to be considered by Winchester people as one of their own prelates from the burnt Cotton MS. Otho A VIII in which the life of St. Machutus bore (as appears from the old Catalogue) the title 'Vita S. Machuti episcopi Ventani'. The very personal character of the cult rendered to him in Winchester is evidenced by a pretty little versified prayer of a nun contained in the Galba MS. already cited, and printed in the *Downside Review (ubi supra)*. I have no doubt that with proper research more material of the same kind may easily be found.

But what has been already said is sufficient for the present purpose; namely, to shew that the presence of the distinctly Breton element in the Winchester calendars of the eleventh century is probably due to Athelstan and that the Breton cults at Winchester date from his reign.[1] Any words on the case of St. Petrock and Athelstan's reduction of Cornwall are doubtless unnecessary here.

[1] Judoc is not found in the metrical martyrology of Galba A XVIII, but the entry in the tenth century Salisbury MS. 150 at 9 January 'sci Edoci conf.' is doubtless intended for him as well as the 'Judoci conf.' at 13 December; in the Sherborne calendar of the eleventh century (of which below) both entries are found and the feast of 9 January is marked with the 'f'

Reverting, then, to the 'discourse' from which we started, we find on this second count also, the Breton and Cornish saints, the presumption is that the calendar in which such cults are more marked would date from before, the calendars in which they are less marked or absent, more probably from some time after, the Norman Conquest.

7. RELIC CULTS: CANTERBURY OR WINCHESTER?

We have considered two items of internal evidence in their bearing on the probable date of the three calendars. The item now to be considered bears on the question of place, and to which church, whether Winchester or Canterbury, each may respectively belong.

From the excerpt from Eadmer's tract on the relics of St. Audoen given by Gervase in his account of the fire at Canterbury cathedral in 1174 we learn that before the Conquest in the old cathedral of Anglo-Saxon times:

(1) the head of St. Fursey was kept at the altar in the crypt, or Confession, under the high altar;

(2) the head of St. Austroberta at the altar of the Blessed Virgin;

(3) the head of St. Swithun, given by St. Elphege, at the altar of the daily (? community) mass in front of the high altar;

(4) the body of St. Wilfrid, given by St. Odo, at the high altar;

(5) Professor Willis (*Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral pp.* 4-5) has briefly noticed, from Eadmer's MS., how the relics of St. Audoen were said to have been deposited in Canterbury cathedral in the days of king Edgar and archbishop Odo.

It is to be understood that in the tract on the relics of St. Audoen Eadmer does not profess to give a complete list of relics preserved in the cathedral before the Conquest, but only mentions such relics as occur to him as illustrative of his descrip-

designating in this MS. feasts of higher grade.

It is interesting to observe how the series of Breton invocations in the litany of the Galba MS. A xiv is (except Branwalator) different from the series in the Breton litany of the tenth century printed by Mabillon under the unfortunate title 'Veteres Litaniae Anglicanae', and mistakenly dated by him two or three centuries earlier.

tion of the pre-Norman church; moreover all that is in question here is the existence of a cult; its origin is not our concern, and still less the origin of the relics.

In the Benedictional of the cathedral Harl. MS. 2892 already cited we find benedictions for the feasts of St. Blase (f. 139^b), St. Austroberta (f. 140^b), St. Salvius (f. 159^b), St. Audoen (170^b).[1] We have already seen above (pp. 35-36) that the special cult of St. Salvius dates in Canterbury cathedral from two generations at least before the Conquest. As to St. Blase, Gervase (Twysden, *Decem Scr.* col. 1293) mentions an altar of St. Blase as existing in the cathedral built by Lanfranc; and from the later inventories we learn that the 'body' of St. Blase was kept in a shrine behind the high altar; his head and arm in a silver gilt head and arm in the treasury (Dart, *Hist. of the Cathedral Ch. of Canterbury*, Appendix p. xlii). As there is a benediction for the feast in the Benedictional cited above it may be safely concluded that a relic cult of St. Blase existed in the cathedral before the Conquest quite independently of the wave of later devotion which spread throughout the churches of Western Europe and became generally fashionable in the twelfth century.

Of the saints mentioned above, SS. Swithun, Wilfrid and Audoen are commonly found in the calendars of the eleventh century; and the occurrence of these names is not of significance for the present purpose.

There remain four names: Fursey, Blase, Austroberta, Salvius. In the following table an asterisk (*) indicates presence, a dash (—) absence. The following is the state of the case in our three calendars, to which for illustration is added the witness of the Canterbury Benedictional of the eleventh century, a Canterbury cathedral calendar certainly earlier than the martydom of St. Thomas and probably of some time between the years 1150-1170

[1] It is I think to be regretted that this MS. should not have been selected for publication by the Henry Bradshaw Society instead of the so-called Benedictional of Robert of Jumièges. It has the advantage, or disadvantage, of being practically unknown and unused, whilst the latter book has been known through French scholars for the past two hundred years. But our Harleian MS. preserves some of the rites of the most venerable church in England before Lanfranc's reformation and gives us some idea, in its numerous original formularies, of the tone of mind and piety of the old community of Canterbury cathedral.

(MS. Bodl. Add. C. 260), and of the calendar of St. Augustine's already used.

	Canterbury documents anterior to the Conquest		Winchester documents	
	Bosw. Ps.	Harl. 2892	Vit. E xviii	Arund. 60
Jan. 16 Fursey	*	—	—	—
Feb. 3 Blase	—	*	—	—
" 10 Austroberta	—	*	—	—
June 26 Salvius	*	*	—	—

	Arund. 155	Canterbury Cath. (c. 1150-1170) Bodl. Add C 260.[1]	St. Augustine's (c. 1250-1270)
Jan. 16 Fursey	—	*	—
Feb. 3 Blase	*	*	*
" 10 Austroberta	*	*	—
June 26 Salvius	*	*	—

From this table it seems possible to draw only one conclusion; namely that the calendar of Arundel MS. 155 dissociates itself from the Winchester, associates itself with the Canterbury cathedral, traditions and cults.

8. THE EXTENSION OF FEASTS PROPER TO WINCHESTER

In the 'discourse' imagined above, the argument decisive for the assignment to Winchester of the calendar in Arundel MS. 155 is simple: this calendar shews five local feasts of Winchester and but two (Augustine and Elphege) of Canterbury; *ergo*. Such an argument would be plausible; will it bear examination?

As the simplest way for coming to a conclusion on this question, let us divide the case into two parts and consider each on its own merits. We have then to enquire:

[1] Or the Eadwine Psalter of the same age. In MS. Bodl. the name of Fursey is entered in capital letters. This may be mere scribal caprice; or it may mark a temporary revival of interest in the cult, through some little event, or private gust, of which we are ignorant.

I. Whether in the Anglo-Saxon church of the eleventh century specifically Winchester feasts were or were not freely adopted elsewhere;[1]

II. Whether there is reason to anticipate that a calendar for Canterbury cathedral drawn up under the direction of Lanfranc would contain few local Canterbury feasts rather than many.

I. To satisfy ourselves under the first head it will be sufficient for the present purpose to give a list of the specifically Winchester feasts in Vitellius E xviii and see how many of these occur in three or four select calendars of Anglo-Saxon times.

The list of such feasts in Vitellius E xviii is as follows:

> (1) Jan. 9 Translation of St. Judoc cf; (2) March 12 St. Elphege bp; (3) June 15 St. Eadburga v; (4) July 2 Deposition of St. Swithun bp; (5) July 7 St. Hedda bp; (6) July 8 St. Grimbald cf; (7) July 15 Translation of St. Swithun; (8) Aug. 1 St. Ethelwold bp; (9) Sept. 4 Translation of SS. Birinus and Cuthbert; (10) Sept. 10 Translation of St. Ethelwold; (11) Oct. 18 St. Justus m. (12) Oct. 30 Ordination of St. Swithun; (13) Nov. 4 St. Birnstan bp; (14) Dec. 3 Deposition of St. Birinus; (15) Dec. 10 Octave of St. Birinus; (16) Dec. 13 St. Judoc cf.[2]

In selecting calendars for comparison three points have been borne in mind; certainty as to their local origin, their geographical distribution, and their character as products of Anglo-Saxon tradition and not of the Norman, or earlier 'Lotharingian', reform. Those chosen are: (a) the calendar in the C.C.C.C. MS. 422 commonly

[1] The question whether other churches adopted the calendar of the church of Winchester in Anglo-Saxon times is quite a different matter: the answer to this question must (unless the St. Edmundsbury calendar in MS. Vat. Reg. 12 form an exception) be in the negative.

[2] Nos 2 and 15 are not found in the (Newminster) calendar of Titus D xxvii. I exclude July 18 Eadburga (see p. 41 above); in Titus D xxvii this feast is entered as 'Translatio Scae Eadburgae virg:'; it may be of the Winchester nun, but I do not know; Oct. 23 St. Ethelfleda is also excluded as being of Romsey and not specifically of Winchester.

called the 'Red Book of Derby'. This calendar can with practical certainty be assigned to Sherborne;[1] (b) the calendar of C.C.C.C. MS. 391 commonly called the 'Portiforium S. Oswaldi', a breviary of the church of Worcester under St. Wulstan; (c) the calendar

[1] As this Sherborne calendar and the calendar of the Bosworth Psalter are the only ones extant which can be shewn to derive ultimately from the ancient Glastonbury calendar represented now only by G, some particulars are here given respecting it. The greater feasts in the calendar of C.C.C.C. MS. 422 are designated, not by a cross as in most others of the Anglo-Saxon period but by the letter 'f' in red towards the right hand margin of the page. The colour has flaked off but the letters are still in every case discernible. Among the feasts so distinguished are these: Jan. 8 'Sancti Wulfsini SCIREBURNENSIS episcopi' [this is the only Anglo-Saxon calendar in which the name of Wulfsin is found; he occurs at this day in the Exeter martyrology of the eleventh century, which has further at 27 April this entry (taken from Henry Wharton's extracts at Lambeth): 'Translatio S. Wlfsini episcopi et confessoris cuius merita testatur numerositas miraculorum divini beneficii'; see also the late Fr. R. Stanton's *Menology* p. 11]; Mar. 18 St. Edward k. and martyr, the entry is in capitals; Sept. 16 St. Edith, also in capitals. At Aug. 12 occurs (but not distinguished by the letter 'f') 'Translatio sancti Eadwoldi anchoritae' (i.e. the hermit of Cerne), a commemoration again not found in any other Anglo-Saxon calendar. There is no mention by the original hand of St. Aldhelm; but, though his name is found in the Salisbury MS. 150, and in B, his cult was insignificant in Anglo-Saxon days. It seems then practically certain that we have here a calendar of Sherborne.

This calendar is wholly rooted in precedents of Anglo-Saxon times and quite free from admixture of foreign elements that might have come in under the so-called 'Lorrainer' bishop Herman (1058-1078). The calendar in Cotton MS. Vitellius A xviii is a specimen of this new type, whether originating with Herman, or more probably his neighbour Giso of Wells (1061-1088).

The calendar in the 'Red Book of Derby' deserves an accurate and detailed examination for which this is not the place. It may however be said that it retains items of G that have disappeared in B; moreover in every case where it agrees with B as against G, it also is in agreement with the Winchester calendar Vitellius E xviii; and in no case is the direct influence of B on Sh. demonstrable. Moreover Sherborne has some items which can be found only in other and the more ancient members of the 'western group' of calendars, the Salisbury MS. 150 and Cotton MS. Nero A II.

Besides Judoc on Jan. 9 (see p.56 n.1) and those mentioned above, the following items marked with 'f' deserve notice: Cuthbert, Gregory, and Benedict in March; April 19 and 23 Elphege and George; May 19 and 26 Dunstan and Augustine; and Nov. 23 Clement. SS. Swithun, Grimbald and Benedict, all in July, have not this distinguishing mark of grade although in all three cases capitals are used as if the scribe had here a Winchester calendar before him. Olave is entered as secondary at June 28 (for St. Olave at Exeter see p. 48 n. 2 above). At Oct. 21 is this entry: 'Hic ordinatus fuit Dunstanus archiepiscopus' (the so-called 'Portiforium S. Oswaldi' has also at Oct. 21 'Ordinatio Sci Dunstani archiepi', but this is an entry by a later hand).

What gives particular interest to the Sherborne calendar is this: that Wulfsy or Wulfsin

in MS. Bodl. Douce 296, of some monastery in the fen country.

(a) The Sherborne calendar contains N^os^ 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14 and 16 of the list given above.

(b) The Worcester calendar contains N^os^ 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14 and 16.

(c) The calendar of the monastery of the fen country contains N^os^ 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11 14, and 16.

In these circumstances the presence of five local Winchester feasts (N^os^ 4, 7, 9, 14, 16) in the calendar of MS. Arundel 155 is not of itself an argument that it is a calendar of the church of Winchester; especially as the calendar B of Canterbury cathedral of the early years seemingly of the eleventh century shews already four local Winchester feasts (N^os^ 3, 4, 6, 7).

It is the free adoption by other churches of local Winchester feasts in the eleventh century which is the cause in the past of the assignment to Winchester of calendars which, when fully considered and examined in their various constituent elements, appear not only to be not calendars of Winchester but also to follow a different tradition and to rest on a different basis. So far as we may judge from the very few calendars of the Anglo-Saxon period that survive out of the great number that once existed, the spread of Winchester feasts seems to have begun in the later decades of the tenth century and to have been a consequence of that great awakening to a sense of national unity that marked king Edgar's days. G has no Winchester saint. The Salisbury MS. 150 has N^os^. 1, 3, 4 (as a 'Translation'), 6 and 14 in the list; Nero A 11, N^os^. 6, 9 (but at Sept. 2), 14 and 16. These two calendars thus rank themselves with B and shew the stage reached about the year 1000; the three calendars reviewed above shew the state of things some two generations later. The feast of the Ordination of St. Swithun (N^o^. 12) is found (besides Vitellius E XVIII) only in the calendar of the missal of Robert of Jumièges, and that of

(who seems to have been bishop 992-1001) was abbat of Westminister in the obscure beginnings of that house; and those beginnings seem to have been connected with St. Dunstan who is reported to have been responsible for Wulfsy's appointment to the new foundation. We are dealing here with obscure memories and can reach them only through a haze of legend; but the Sherborne calendar of the 'Red Book of Derby' seems proper to shew that the story as told is not so very far off from fact.

Bodleian MS. Junius 99 commonly assigned to Worcester under St. Wulstan.

II. There remains the question whether there is reason to anticipate in a calendar drawn up for the cathedral church of Canterbury under Lanfranc the presence of many or of few Canterbury saints.

Fortunately we are in a position to know what we are to think in this matter; and on authority no less than that of Lanfranc himself in the Constitutions which he drew up expressly for observance by his own community of the Canterbury cathedral monastery.[1] These Constitutions are also of interest as the first recorded, perhaps the first actual, attempt in England at drawing up a regular scheme of strictly graded feasts to each of which a value was assigned after the modern manner. Lanfranc's scheme of grading was as follows: principal feasts, five only in number (Christmas etc.); secondly about a score of feasts truly 'magnificent' but still not of such consideration as the supreme five; feasts of the third grade, sixteen in number and including the majority of the feasts of apostles. Then come feasts of 'twelve lessons', feasts of 'three lessons', and mere 'commemorations'; these inferior celebrations are not specified by name; but they embraced in fact (as we can gather from the lists of feasts of the first three grades) the bulk of the feasts designated above as 'sacramentary' feasts, with a few 'martyrological' and 'foreign' and some that were locally 'principal' in other English churches[2].

In the enumeration of feasts thus prescribed by Lanfranc for celebration in his cathedral church of Canterbury we find the names of two only out of the many Canterbury saints whose cult had become traditional in the primatial church of the English people. These two are St. Augustine and St. Elphege. Of St. Dunstan, still after the martyrdom of St. Elphege the most

[1] By a mischance these were printed by the first editor under the title 'Decreta Lanfranci pro Ordine S. Benedicti' (see Reyner's *Apostolatus Benedictinorum*, part iii, p. 211); and our antiquaries etc. thus started on a wrong track have generally persevered therein until now (see e.g. the *Dictionary of National Biography* under 'Lanfranc'), although in the *Concilia* Wilkins pointed to the real state of the case which is indeed made clear in Lanfranc's own preface.

[2] Lanfranc's list of feasts will be found in § 10 before the Table.

venerated perhaps of them all,[1] we find not a word.

Viewed in the light of the facts the argument concluding to a Winchester origin from the presence in Arundel MS. 155 of five local Winchester and but two local Canterbury feasts is invalid.

9. CONCLUSION

Other points of minor detail invite discussion; suchas the feasts of St. Audoen[2] and St. Bartholemew; the names of the saints entered in various MSS. by later hands but never admitted into the official calendar of Canterbury cathedral; or topics of more general concern, as, for instance, the difficulty and uncertainty attending the dating of MSS. of this period on paleographical grounds only to the neglect of internal evidence, which often does not yield up its secrets without some perhaps disproportionate expenditure of pains and use of what a master of modern historical criticism, the late Comte Riant, was wont to call *à côté* knowledge. But, I am anxious if possible to keep the main lines of enquiry clear. And, behind the multiplicity of technical, it might seem trivial, detail there lies a large and living question, the change in the tone and character of English piety induced by the Norman Conquest.[3]

[1] The Benedictional Harl. MS. 2892 has for the feast of St. Elphege (May 19) two benedictions, for his translation (June 8) three; for St. Dunstan (May 19) four, besides (a unique distinction) one for the Vigil.

[2] But see note on 24 and 25 Aug. of Table. In Eadmer's inedited tract on the relics of St. Audoen, C.C.C.C. MS. 371 p. 440 seqq. is a passage that may be given here, as it has a bearing on some things already said in the course of the present discussion. He narrates how 'cum post decessum superius nominati patris Lanfranci quadam die in claustro ex more sederem occupatus libro quem scribendo inter manus habebam, venit ad me nominatissimus ille cantor Osbernus nomine, et sedens ita cepit dicere: "Tempore suo felicis memoriae pater Lanfrancus, sicut fraternitas tua bene novit, sua sanctione precepit ut scrinea et capsas istius ecclesiae perscrutaremur et quid reliquiarum in eis habetur investigaremus. Quod quidem ex parte fecimus";' but one shrine, seized by a holy fear, Osbern could not make up his mind to open. 'Come and let us examine it now'. So said, so done. The formalities attending the verification, of interest to the ritualist, are described; the 'secretarii'—sacristy folk—take also due part; what was found therein; among the rest two 'cartulae', on one of which was written 'reliquiae sancti Gregorii papae', on the other 'reliquiae sancti Audoeni confessoris'. Osbern's fear, it will be observed, passes with the passing away of the terrible old man 'of happy memory'.

[3] There is for instance a sharply cut distinction in regard to the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin between the devotion of Anglo-Saxon times and the devotion as revived in the

One matter of detail must however be dealt with. At p 24 n. 2, mention is made of an erased entry in the calendar B at 17 March, and it is there said the letters 'ep' were still distinguishable. Here is an instance how a good photographic reproduction is not infrequently more useful for working purposes than the original manuscript itself. Since that note was in print, with the application of a chemical reagent, and with some pains it was possible to two pairs of eyes to recover this: 'N. sci Eadwardi regis'. But without the original MS., without chemical reagent, and without other pains than is implied in seeing what is easily to be seen in a good photograph, the erased entry appeared as 'F. Natale sci Eadwardi regis et (martyris)'.—This is the only entry in the calendar which prefixes the word 'Natale' to the name of the saint, and combines the use (elsewhere wholly exceptional) of the Anglo-Saxon 'w' 'r' and the letter 'd' with a stroke sharply curved to the left.[1] In the circumstances it seems hardly open to doubt this is an entry made later, although it is in the same sort of neat hand as the original script. The designation of the feast (at Canterbury) with the significant 'F' and its total erasure would thus have a bearing on the probable date of the calendar itself. It must be remembered that we know nothing precisely as to the time or the places in which the cult of St. Edward the king and martyr began: but we do know that such cult in the beginning may, perhaps must, have had a political cast and probably was a party note. We may in the circumstances fairly hazard the conjecture that the high grading of this feast and its total erasure in Canterbury point to a time when in regard to the murder of the son of Edgar, and other public matters also, party passions were high and divisions in the

Anglo-Norman church of the twelfth century. In the earlier period it was pure piety without doctrinal after-thought; in the later the doctrinal element is present if not predominant so that the feast has now become in fact if not in name the feast of the Immaculate Conception, even for Osbert de Clare and Eadmer (see the remarks of Fr. Slater, S. J., *Eadmeri Tractatus de Conceptione*, pp. x-xix; and P. Aug. Noyon, S. J., *ubi supra*, p. 14 *seqq.*) P. Noyon (p. 24) also calls attention to the 'principe fécond de théologie mariale' laid down by Nicholas of St. Albans, that 'chaque fois qu'une présomption est en faveur de Marie il la faut tenir pour fondée tant qu'elle n'est pas démontrée fausse'.

[1] For instances of the use of these three forms see in the MS. the entry of St. Werburga at Feb. 3 and St. Ermenilda at 13 Feb. For the entry of the feast at March 17 (instead of 18) see footnote to the Table at that date.

body politic cut deep. It has been said above (p. 27) that the calendar was written between 988 and 1023; by the later date no difficulties would arise as to the celebration of the feast of St. Edward; and all this tends to make it probable the calendar B was written nearer the earlier date than the later.

With further questions of detail thus put aside, we can summarize and conclude on all that has been hitherto said.

I. It was first shewn that the calendar of the Bosworth Psalter (B) has for basis a Glastonbury calendar, not identical with but akin to that found in the Leofric Missal (G) of the second half of the tenth century; that both go back to a common original (p. 21); that B is a calendar of Canterbury (pp. 26-27); and not of St. Augustine's but of the cathedral (p. 34 seqq.).

II. Next, it has been pointed out (p. 27) that B is not the basis of the later mediæval (post-Conquest) calendar of that cathedral; but as such basis a calendar of different origin and tradition has been substituted for it; which calendar has been identified with the traditional calendar of the church of Winchester in its post-Conquest form represented by the calendar in Arundel MS. 60 (p. 30) and it was mentioned (p. 35) that such sort of Winchester calendar was also the basis of the late mediæval calendar of St. Augustine's.

III. It was then stated (p. 30) that a calendar contained in the Arundel MS. 155 is an example or copy (for of course a church like Canterbury possessed more than one copy of its current calendar) of such Winchester calendar as adopted in, and adapted to the use of, Canterbury cathedral presumably (as all indications go to shew) in Lanfranc's time (p. 31-32). It was further pointed out (pp. 29-30) how this very interesting MS. is, by additions made at later times and by various hands, a record of the steps by which the calendar as originally drawn up developed into the Canterbury cathedral calendar as found with proper designations of the gradings of feasts in MSS. from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth.

IV. It has also been shown (p. 57 seqq.) how the calendar in Arundel MS. 155, in a particular which in enquiries of this kind is of primary value, namely local relic cults, bears on the face of it evidence which unmistakably associates it with the special relic cults of Canterbury cathedral, and marks it off in this point

from the known calendars of all other churches. We therefore, quite apart from the considerations adduced in part I., are led by the mere facts relating a single item of detail, to the identification of the place to which this calendar would properly and exclusively belong.

V. But, after all, the substitution of a Winchester calendar at Canterbury, if a violent measure in itself, was only the radical application of a process that in a tentative way and in a few exceptional cases had been going on during the whole course of the eleventh century, when church after church had already begun freely to adopt local Winchester feasts which, viewed in themselves, to those churches were not of concern or interest (p. 59 seqq.); and the presence of five specifically Winchester feasts in the calendar of Arundel MS. 155 is no objection to the identification of the latter as a Canterbury calendar.

VI. Still less does the absence from Arundel 155 of the local Canterbury saints so numerous in B militate against the attribution of the former to Canterbury after the Norman Conquest. Indeed the state of things shewn in Arundel 155, viz: the reduction of Canterbury saints to two (St. Augustine and St. Elphege), exactly corresponds with Lanfranc's prescriptions for his cathedral church laid down in the Constitutions drawn up and promulgated by himself (pp. 31-32).

VII. Two special items are dealt with as serving to show, by way of specimen, the sort of indications that may be looked for as differentiating calendars of the Anglo-Saxon and the early Norman periods respectively. One of these (certain feasts of the Blessed Virgin) concerns both Canterbury and Winchester(p. 43 seqq.), the other (Breton cults) Winchester alone (p. 53 seqq.); and they evidence how the presence or absence of such feasts would induce us *prima facie* to assign the calendar Vitellius E XVIII to a date before, those of Arundel MSS. 60 and 155 to a date after, the Conquest.

It would be easy to extend and multiply the more general lines of enquiry opened up in both parts of this 'Consultatio' or to reinforce this or that particular statement. But what has been said is, I trust, sufficient to show how

(1) B is a calendar of Canterbury cathedral that was in use

before the Conquest, and that it goes back for its original on Glastonbury;

(2) the calendar of Arundel MS. 155 is a calendar of Canterbury cathedral after the Conquest, and goes back for its original on Winchester.

10. TABLE OF CANTERBURY CALENDARS

It remains to give a conspectus in the brief space of a Table of the contents of the calendars of Canterbury cathedral from the eleventh century to the fifteenth; together with a Winchester calendar serving as a specimen of that on which the Canterbury calendar at its revision after the Conquest was based. This will enable the reader the better to follow and in some measure control what has been said in the preceding pages. That it is possible to give such a Table at all is due to the kindness of Mr. Sydney C. Cockerell who has communicated to me copies of N^{os} 4, 5, 6, 9 and 11 of the list given below; of all which I had no knowledge when the first part of this tract on the calendar of the Bosworth Psalter was written. Mr. Cockerell has increased my personal obligation by also submitting the proofs of that part to an effective revision for which I am most grateful.

The following is a list of the MSS. from which the calendars comprised in the Table are drawn.

(1) The Bosworth Psalter, now B. M. Addit. MS. 37,517; a Canterbury cathedral calendar the date of which lies between 988 and 1023 (see p. 27, 65-66).

(2) Arundel MS. 60; a Winchester calendar, after the Conquest.

All the calendars that follow are of Canterbury cathedral.

(3) Arundel MS. 155; a calendar of the later years of the eleventh century; perhaps about the year 1080 (see p. 30 seqq., 39, and note on 19 May in the Table).

(4) The well-known Eadwine Psalter at Trinity College, Cambridge; written before 1170.

(5) Paris B. N. Nouv. acq. Lat. 1670; a Psalter assigned to about the year 1200.

(6) Paris B. N. Lat. 770. The calendar does not contain the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas; and is assigned to about

the year 1220. This interesting document is a genuine copy of a calendar of Canterbury cathedral, but with many foreign and especially Cluniac insertions.

(7) Cotton MS. Tiberius B III; a calendar seemingly of about 1240-1250.

(8) Egerton MS. 2867 of about the same date; in the calendar at 19 October is entered the Dedication of St. Martin's Dover, a cell of Christ Church, Canterbury.

(9) Canterbury Horæ in the Nürnberg Public Library; with Hours of St. Thomas of Canterbury after those of the B. V., and Hours of the Holy Trinity after those of the Holy Spirit; of the beginning of the 14th century; the calendar is in a different hand.

(10) B. M. Addit. MS. 6160. In this calendar the feast of St. Thomas of Hereford (canonized in 1320) is added in another hand; as well as an octave for the Ordination of St. Dunstan; seemingly of a date not long before 1320.

(11) MS. Bodl. D 2. 2. The feast of St. Thomas and the attempted octave, mentioned under (10), are written in this calendar by the original hand which is of the first half of the fourteenth century.

(12) Lambeth MS. 558; a calendar of the fourteenth century.

(13) B. M. Sloane MS. 3887; a calendar of the early part of the fifteenth century; the months of March, April, May and July are wanting.[1]

N^os^ 1, 2 and 3 have each a special column in the Table; the

[1] Besides the twelve above enumerated two other calendars of Canterbury cathedral have come to notice, the Bodl. MS. Add. C. 260 of the twelfth century, and a calendar in the Eton MS. 78 of the thirteenth. These are omitted from the Table that follows which therefore is incomplete and, as a piece of work, so far wanting in thoroughness. Of the calendar in the Eton MS. only the months of March, April, November and December remain; the litany contained in the volume is certainly a litany that could come only from Canterbury cathedral; the calendar-leaves give the names of Mellitus and Justus who had cult at St. Augustine's and not at the cathedral, and of St. Birinus who had cult at neither; but it appears that the entries in these leaves are in more than one hand.

The interesting Bodleian MS. consists of a calendar only, which is complete, and at once shews itself as curiously irregular in its graphic features. Whilst some fifteen feasts of high grade, among them the Epiphany, are entered in small letters in black, others, often for no obvious reason, are written in black capitals, others in red capitals, others in small letters red. A few are in varied colours and large capitals, but here the reasons seem more clearly to appear. Besides all

remaining ten calendars, referred to by their numbers, are included together in the fourth column; and the gradings of feasts are given in the fifth. Fixed commemorations (e. g. the Resurrection at 25 March, the First Pentecost at 15 May, etc.) and entries relating to the astronomical year are omitted as having no bearing on the present enquiry and merely encumbering the text. But the Table is so drawn up that the specifically church calendar of any manuscript included in it may be easily reconstructed therefrom. To save space the descriptions are abridged ('m.' for 'mar.', 'cf.' for 'conf.' etc. etc.), and the regular designation 'Sci', 'Scae', is omitted; but any characteristic or abnormal form is preserved as well as the orthography of the proper names; and for clearness a separate line is given to each different feast or name occurring in the thirteen calendars. When in the fourth column no name is given the numbers are to be understood as meaning that the calendars enumerated give the feast found in the third column, never the first or second.[1]

Only the entries in the original hand of the various calendars find notice in the Table; but all the names of saints are given, including those which are due only to scribal caprice (cf. p. 29 n. 1) and never formed part of the official calendar of Canterbury cathedral. In footnotes at the end of each month are given: (*a*) a list of the Benedictions in Harl. MS. 2892, as illustrating the Canterbury cathedral calendar between the date of B and the Conquest; (*b*) the variations from the calendar of Arundel MS.

this there is free admixture of later entries in various hands. A mere photographic reproduction however excellent cannot render the real features of the MS. But, besides that I wish in this tract to keep on the firmer ground of more commonplace discussion, I must leave it to others, by distinguishing original from non-original entries and assigning to these latter their respective measure of contemporaneousness or lateness, to reconstitute from the Bodleian MS. a calendar of Canterbury cathedral of the first half or middle of the twelfth century; a task in which a comparison with the later entries in Arundel MS. 155 would be found useful.

For the purposes of the present tract the calendar of the Eadwine psalter, though of slightly later date, fully suffices, and it is not subject to drawbacks attaching to the Bodleian MS.; but I have endeavoured to notice below the items of this latter that seem interesting.

[1] Where the letter S or F is given in the calendar of the Bosworth Psalter before an entry with the names of two feasts, these have been bracketed in the print although I do not think there is at any time real cause for doubt of the feasts to which the distinguishing letter relates.

60 of the Winchester missal of c. 1120[1] as illustrating the history of the Winchester calendar in the half century after the Conquest; (*c*) the complete series of additions made by various hands to the calendar of Arundel MS. 155 (see p. 28 seqq.); and (*d*) the entries made by later hands in N^os^ 7 and 10; and the foreign and Cluniac entries in N° 6.

The gradings in the fifth column are by no means the least instructive part of the calendar. A complete set is found in one manuscript only, N° 7, the Cotton MS. Tiberius B III. But it has suffered from the fire; even where the margin is burnt the gradings can, I think, be still discerned with practical certainty except in two or three cases. The other MSS. available for gradings are N^os^ 8, 10, 11, 12 and 13. No one of them is quite complete; each is curiously and capriciously defective in a few particulars especially in the case of mere commemorations: but these deficiencies are commonly different in each different manuscript, so that in practice there is no difficulty in following the variations from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. The gradings of the original hand only of each manuscript are given in this column, and no notice is taken of later additions or corrections which would only produce confusion. Such corrections and additionsare very numerous in N° 3, and are also not uncommon in N^os^ 7 and 10. But the corrections of grading in N^os^ 3 and 7 appear in the first hand in the later MSS., with a few exceptions given in the footnote. As these exceptions in N° 3 shew a heightening of the grade it is to be supposed that they are of a late date, and of the fifteenth century.[2]

[1] See a notice of this MS. by M. Léopold Delisle in *Revue des Sociétés Savantes*, 7^e^ sér. tome VI p. 33 seqq. M. Ch. Fierville has printed in *Recueil des Publications de la Société Havraise d'Etudes diverses* (années 1880-81) pp. 407-456 the prefaces in this missal with the title of the masses which have not a special preface. In M. Delisle's list St. Sexburga, 6 July, has by accident been omitted.

[2] Where the grading is given in the Notes to columns III and IV with the name of the feast it is to be understood that the whole entry (feast and grading) is in one hand. One kind of alteration of grading by a later hand, found only in No. 10, must be noticed here. The twelve lessons on fourteen feasts are reduced to eight, with a direction to 'sing' of a secondary feast, or (much more commonly) of a current octave; and the same direction is given also for one feast 'in cappis', one in 'albis' and one of '3 R'. This seems to shew that in the fifteenth century there was a change of practice in Canterbury cathedral and a levelling up to the ways of modern times. We here

The abbreviations used to designate the gradings in column v, besides the ordinary twelve, eight, or three lessons and the commemoration, are: 'in a.'='in albis'; 'in a. a.'='in albis altis'; 'in a. s.'='in albis simplicibus'; 'in c.'='in cappis'; 'in c. a.'='in cappis altis'; 'in c. s.'='in cappis simplicibus'; 'cc.' or 'ct.'='cantic.'; 'cc. et l.'='cantic. et lect.' In our MSS. '3 R' is simply equivalent to the ordinary '3 lc.'; it is the form almost invariably used in N° 7 for feasts of three lessons, whilst its contemporary N° 8 favours the usual form '3 lc.'; the later MSS. usually have like N° 7 '3 R'.

The following is Lanfranc's grading of feasts above twelve lessons as prescribed in his Statutes, which give the observance appropriate to each class in great detail, down to the putting out on feasts of the first and second classes only of best towels to overlay the ordinary ones *(super tersoria quotidiana sint extensa)* and to be used exclusively at washing before the two meals of the day *(nisi tantummodo ad refectionem primam et sero ad cœnam)*.

I. Quinque sunt praecipuae festivitates; id est, Natale Domini (25 Dec.), Resurrectionis ejus, Pentecostes, Assumptio S. Genetricis Dei Mariae (15 Aug.), Festivitas loci. . . .

II. Sunt aliae festivitates quae magnifice celebrantur, quamvis non aequaliter superioribus; sunt autem hae: Epiphania (6 Jan.), Purificatio S. Mariae (2 Feb.), festivitas S. Gregorii (12 Mar.), Annunciatio Christi (25 Mar.), Octava dies paschalis solemnitatis, festivitas S. Alfegi martyris (19 Apr.), Ascensio Christi, festivitas S. Augustini Anglorum archiepiscopi (26 May), Octava Pentecostes dies, Nativitas S. Johannis Baptistae (24 June), Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli (29 June), Translatio S. Benedicti (11 July), Nativitas S. Mariae (8 Sept.), festivitas S. Michaelis

assist at the promotion there of the hard rules of the Pie, resulting so often from the multiplication of octaves on the one hand and on the other the disuse of the good old Roman simple plan of observing an octave by saying a prayer on the sole eighth day after the feast and that was all. The more modern plan had however been occupying the minds of Franco-German experts as early as the ninth century. Whether in these seventeen cases four lessons were said or any, and what 'singing' was done—whether by the antiphons of *Benedictus* and *Magnificat* only, or otherwise—for the secondary feasts or octaves, must be questions reserved for those versed in the rubrics and current practice of the fifteenth century. In the same way I must leave it to others too to throw light on the nice questions involved in the distinctive use of certain vestures 'high' or 'simple' that are raised by these Canterbury calendars.

(29 Sept.), festivitas Omnium Sanctorum (1 Nov.), festivitas S. Andreae (30 Nov.), Dedicatio ecclesiae. . . .

III. Sunt aliae tertiae classis festivitates, quae non tantopere celebrantur; hae autem sunt: festivitas S. Vincentii (22 Jan.), Conversio S. Pauli (25 Jan.), Philippi et Jacobi (1 May), Inventio S. Crucis (3 May), Jacobi apostoli (25 July), S. Petri in Calendis Augusti (1 Aug.), Laurentii martyris (10 Aug.), Octava dies Assumptionis S. Mariae (22 Aug.), Bartholomaei apostoli,[1] Au-

[1] At the last moment, suppressing the few words intended to be said in note on 24 and 25 August of the Table (see p. 64 note 2), I add in this place some particulars as to the feasts of St. Audoen and St. Bartholomew which may save time and trouble, or give a fair start, to some more curious enquirer. I confine my attention to the calendars and leave the arrangements of the mass-books to others.

St. Audoen died on 24 Aug. The abbey of St. Ouen at Rouen kept even seemingly up to the date of its suppression, the feast of its patron on the 24th; but elsewhere in the diocese of Rouen the feast was kept on the 26th the 24th being assigned to St. Bartholomew and the 25th to St. Louis.

The old and genuine date of St. Bartholomew was 25 Aug.; but he was entered by Usuard and Florus in the ninth century in their martyrologies at the 24th, which is now generally observed as his day; the Vatican Basilica (according to the Breviary of 1674) still, however keeps the feast of St. Bartholomew on the 25th.

The calendar of the Athelstan Psalter Galba A xviii seems to be the earliest record of the 24th in England. The introduction of the feast of St. Audoen further complicated matters. The state of the case in the hundred years before the Conquest is this:

(a) G and B, Nero A ii and the calendar in the missal of Robert of Jumièges have not admitted St. Audoen and have St Bartholomew at the 25th.

(b) Winchester as represented by Titus D xxvii has St. Audoen at the 24th and St. Bartholomew at the 25th. This seems also to have been the original reading of Vitellius E xviii; though it has suffered from both erasures and fire, what remains shews that this calendar originally had an entry at each of these two days. With the Titus MS. originally agreed Salisbury MS. 150 the Sherborne calendar in the Red Book of Derby (if I rightly scan and divine the original entries of these two days), the so-called Worcester calendar in Bodl. MS. Junius 99, and the Douce MS. 296.

(c) Both the Salisbury MS. 150 and the Sherborne calendar as corrected, the calendar in the Worcester Breviary C. C. C. C. MS. 391, and the calendar in Vitellius A xviii have SS. Bartholomew and Audoen on the 24th.

The Arundel MS. 60 agrees with the group (b) in assigning Audoen to the 24th and Bartholomew to the 25th. In Arundel MS. 155 there are erasures at these two days and a later hand has entered Bartholomew at the 24th and Audoen at the 25th, which is the arrangement found in the subsequent Canterbury cathedral calendars as shewn in the Table.

What was the original arrangement in Arundel 155? The Benedictional Harl. MS. 2892

gustini doctoris (28 Aug.), Decollatio S. Johannis Baptistae (29 Aug.), Exaltatio S. Crucis (14 Sept.), Matthaei apostoli (21 Sept.), Simonis et Judae (28 Oct.), B. Martini (11 Nov.), Thomae apostoli (21 Dec.), et si quae aliae festivitates ita celebrari instituantur (a provision for the future, therefore). . . .

Besides the foregoing Lanfranc mentions incidentally the great feasts of SS. Stephen, John Evangelist, the Innocents, and the Circumcision; but these are conceived of as part of the high octave of Christmas.

does not give the dates of the feasts but the following is the order of the benedictions at this point: Assumption, St. Audoen, St. Bartholomew, St. Augustine. From an anecdote given in his Life of St. Dunstan (written seemingly about 1089) it appears that at some time within Osbern's personal recollection St. Bartholomew and St. Audoen were at Canterbury cathedral both feasted on the same day (whether the 24th or 25th is not stated), and on this day was also kept what we should now call the feast of relics of that church (*Memorials of St. Dunstan* pp. 136, 137). Eadmer telling the same story some twenty years later changes Osbern's 'when we had begun' and 'we sang' into the impersonal 'cantaretur' but mentions only the concurrent feasts of St. Audoen and of relics assigning these expressly to the 24th, thus implying a change had been made since Osbern's early days and that St. Bartholomew was now feasted on another day, and this could be only the 25th. If on Lanfranc's settlement of the Canterbury calendar these two feasts were so fixed, this would explain the erasures in Arundel MS. 155 and at the same time confirm the agreement of Arundel 155 as originally written with Arundel 60. The entry of Audoen on the 24th with Bartholomew, as well as on the 25th, in the calendar of the Eadwine Psalter of before 1170 may be a chance survival of record of the arrangement that had been given up nearly a century earlier.

A TABLE OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS FROM THE ELEVENTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

JANUARY

DAY	BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
1	F. CIRCUMCISIO D.N.J.C.	CIRCUMCISIO D.N.JC. ✠	CIRCUMCISIO D.
2	Isidori ep.		
		Oct. Stephani protomar.	
3	Genouefe v.		Genouefae v.
		Oct. Johannis ev.	
4		Oct. Innocentum	
5	Simeonis mon.	Simeonis mon.	
6	F. EPIPHANIA D.N.	EPIPHANIA D. ✠	EPIPHANIA D.
8	Luciani et Juliani		
9	F. Adriani abb. Furtunati		
		Transl. Judoci cf. ✠	
10	Pauli primi herem.	*Pauli primi herem.*	Paul primi herem.
12	Dep. Benedicti abb.		
13	S. Octavas Epiph.	Oct. Epiphan.	Oct. Epiphan.
		Hilarii 'mar.'	Hilarii ep.
14	Felicis in Pincis	Felicis in Pincis	Felicis in Pincis
15		Mauri abb.	Mauri abb.
16	S. Marcelli pp. Fursei prb.	Marcelli pp.	Marcelli pp.
17	Antonii mon.	*Antoni mon.*	Antonii mon.
18	S. Petri Cathedra Prisce v.	Prisce v.	Priscae v.
19		*'Marie' et Marthe*	Marii et Marthae

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*	GRADING
DAY	
1 4-13	II. 7, 12; in c. 8, 11, 14.
Basilii 7	
2	
Oct. Steph. 6-13	iii R 7, 8, 10-12; xii lc 13.
3	
Oct. Joh. ev. 6-13	iii R 7, 8, 10, 11, 13.
4 Oct. Inn. 6-13	iii lc 8, 10-13 (7 illegible.).
5 Simeonis mon. 5.	
Edwardi reg. 6-8, 10-13.	com 10, 11, 13.
Oct. Thome arep. 9, 11.	
6 4-13.	II. 7, 8, 10, 13; III. 12.
8 Luciani soc.que 9.	
9 Adriani abb. 4-8, 10-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10, 13.
10	
12	
13 4, 6-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10-12; in a. 13.
4, 5, 7-13.[1]	com 7, 10-13.
14 4, 5, 6-13.	? xii lc 7, 8; 3 R 10, 11, 13.
15 4-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10, 11, 13.
16 4, 6-13.	cc. & l 7; com 12: cc. 10, 13.
Fursei pr. 4, 6-8, 10-13.	xii lc 7,[2] 8, 10-13 (13 also: quasi in a.).
17	
Sulpicii ep. 9.	
18	
4-13.	iii R 7, 8, 10-12; com 13.
19	
Wulstani ep. 9-13.	xii lc 10, 12, 13; quasi in a. 11.

[1] In N° 6 Hilary is by mistake entered at 14th with Felix.

[2] N° 7, after the entry 'Fursei', has 'viii lc' as well as xii lc; N° 10 has xii lc with 'viii lc' added by another hand.

BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
DAY		
20 S.Sebastiani et Fabiani m.	Fabiani et Sebastiani.	Fabiani et Sebast.
21 S.Agnetis v.	Agnetis v.	Agnetis v.
22 S.Uincentii m.	Uincentii m.	UINCENTII LEVITAE ET M.
23		Emerentianæ et Macharii
24 Babilli ep. et 3 puerorum	*Babilli ep. et 3 p.*	
25 S.Conversio Pauli ap.	Conversio Pauli ap.	CONV. PAULI AP. Praejecti m.
26	*Policarpi ep.*	
27	*Joh. Crisostomi ep.* *Tr. Aethelflaede v.*	
28 S.Octavas Agnetis	Oct. Agnetis v.	Agnetis secundo
29 Gilde sapientis		
30 Baltildis regin.	Balthilde regin.	

COLUMN I. The Pre-Conquest *Benedictional of Canterbury cathedral Harl. MS.* 2892 has (ff. 129^{b}-132^{b}) benedictions for SS. Sebastian and Fabian, Agnes, Vincent, Con version of St. Paul, and Octave of St. Agnes (but no benediction for St. Fursey).

COLUMN II. The *Winchester Missal* at Havre assigned to *c.* 1120 is imperfect for 1 to 6 Jan; it omits the feasts printed in italics; and adds at 25th Projecti m.

FEBRUARY

BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
DAY		
1 Brigidae v.	Brigide v.	Brigide v.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*		GRADING
DAY		
20	4-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10-13.
21	4-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10-13.
22	4-13.	in a. 7, 8, 10-13.
23	Em. (only) 4, 6-13.	iii R 7, 8, 10, 12, 13.
24		
25	4-13.	in a. 7, 8, 10, 11, 13.
	4, 6-8, 10-13.	com 7, 12.
26	Policarpi ep. 6.	
27	Jo. Crisostomi 6.	
	Juliani ep. 4, 9-13.	iii R 10-13.
28	4-13.	iii R 7, 8, 10-13.
	Juliani ep. 5, 6, 8.	
29		
30	Baltildis regin. 9.	

COLUMN III. *Additions iu later hands:* 9th Adriani abb.; 16th Fursei conf.; 19th Wlstani ep.

COLUMNS IV. and V. *Later entries in N°* 7 17th Antonii abb. quasi in alb. *Foreign entries in N°* 6: 2nd Odilonis abb.; 17th Speusippi, Eleusippi & Melasippi; 28th Johannis abb; 29th Oct. Vincentii.

FEBRUARY

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*		GRADING
DAY		
1	7-13.	iii R 7,8,10,11('si ante lxx'),13.

DAY	BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
2 F.	Yppapanti Domini Laurentii arep.	Purificatio S. Mariae ✠	Purif. S. Mariae
3	Waerburge v.		
			Blasii ep. et m.
5 S.	Agathae v.	Agathe v.	Agathae v.
6		Uedasti et Amandi	Ued. et Amandi ep.
10 S.	Scolasticae v. Maerwynne		Scolasticae v.
			Austroberte v.
11		Scolastice v.	
12	Eulaliae v.		
13	Eormenhildae v.	Eormenhilde v.	Eormenhilde v.
14 S.	Ualentini Uitalis	Ualentini m.	Ualentini
16	Julianae v.	Juliane v.	Julianae v.
20	Didimi et Gagi		
22 S.	Cathedra Petri ap. in Antiochia	Cath. Petri Ap.	Cath. Petri ap.
23	Mildburgae v.		
24 F.	Mathiae ap.	Mathiani ap. ✠	Mathiae Ap.
25			
26			
28			

Col. I. *Benedictions in Harl. MS.* 2892 (ff. 132^{b}, 139^{b}—142^{a}) for Purification, SS. Blase, Agatha, Vedast and Amandus, Austroberta, Scholastica, Peter's Chair, and Matthias.

Col. II. *Missal of c.* 1120 adds Vigil of Purification.

Col. III. *Later additions:* 14th 'Scae. Vallantini mar.'; 17th Sci. Silvini ep.; 25th Sci. Ethelberti regis.

DAY		GRADING
2	5-13.	II. 7, 8, 10, 11, 13.
3		
	4-13.	in c. 7, 8, 10-13. (13 also: xii lc).
5	4-13.	xii lc 8, 10, 12, 13.
6	4-13.	iii R 7, 8, 10-13.
10	4-13.	cc. & l 7, 10-12; cc. 13.
	4-8, 10-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 12; viii lc 10, 11, 13.
11		
	'Sci Ethelgari arep.' 13.	
12		
13		
14	Valentini 4-13.	iii R 7, 8, 10, 11, 13.
16	4, 5, 7-13.	iii R 7, 8, 10, 13.
	Cecilie 13.	
20		
22	4-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10, 13; quasi in a. 11, 13; Credo Prefac. 12.
23	Milburge 4, 6.	
24	4-13.	in a. 7, 8; in c. 10, 11, 13; Credo Prefac. 12.
25	'Ethelberti reg.' 12.	in c. 12.
26	'Sci Ethelberti r. & cf.' 13.	xii lc 13.
28	Theophili 8.	
	Oswaldi r. & m. 13.	

Col. IV. *Foreign entry in N° 6*: 1st Ignatii.

MARCH

[*Wanting in N°.* 13]

DAY	BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
1		Donati ep.	Donati ep.[3]
2	Dep. Ceadde ep.	*Ceaddan ep.*	
3		*Albini ep.*	
4	DCCC mar.		
6			
7	Perpetuae et Felicitatis	*Perp. et Felicit.*	Perp. et Felicit.
9	Passio XL mar.		
10			
12	F. DEP. B. GREGORII PP.	GREGORII PP. ✠	GREGORII PP.
14	Leonis pp.		
15		*Longini* qui latus Christi perforavit	
16	Eugenie v.		
17	[1]	*Patrici ep.*	
18		EADUUARDI R. et M.	EADUUARDI M.
19			
20	F. CUTHBERHTI PRESULIS	CUTHBERHTI EP. ✠	Cuthberti ep.
21	F. BENEDICTI ABB.	BENEDICTI ABB. ✠	BENEDICTI ABB.
25	F. Adnuntiatio S. Mariae v.	ADNUNT. S. MAR. ✠	ANNUNT. S. MAR.
26	[Obitus Ailmaeri mon.][2]		

[1] *On the* 27*th.*—In later hand (see p. 65 above) and erased, is at 17th (xvi kal.) the entry 'F. Natale Sci Eadwardi Regis et (mar)'. The proper feast day of St. Edward m. is the 18th which day in B is occupied with the entry (as in G) 'Primus dies seculi. Sol in (ariete)'. At the date number 'xvi' is a reference mark and in the inner margin (as appears from the photograph) are traces of some now erased characters.

[2] *On the* 26*th.*—In a later hand.

[3] *On the* 1*st.*—Partly erased and altered by a later hand to 'David'.

DAY	CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*	GRADING
1		
	Albini ep. 9.	
2		
3		
4		
6	Juliani 9.	
7	4-12.	com 7; 3 R 10-12.
9		
10	Agapite 5.	
12	4-12.	II 7; in c. 8, 10, 11; in c. a. 12.
14		
15	Longini m. 7, 8.	
16	Eugenie v. 5.	
17		
18	5, 9, 12.	III 12.
19	Eaduuardi r. & m. 4.	
20	4-12.	xii lc. 7, 10-12.
21	4-12.	II 7, 12; in c. 8, 10, 11.
25	4-12.	III 7, 8, 10 ['in xla. II' 10 *alia manu*]; II 11.
26		

BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
DAY		
29 Ordinatio Gregorii pp.	*Ordin. Greg. pp.*	
30 Domnini		

Col. I. *Benedictions in Harl. MS.* 2892 (ff. 142[b]—146[a]) for SS. Gregory, Edward m., Cuthbert, Benedict, Annunciation.
Col. II. *Missal of c.* 1120 omits feasts italicized.
Col. III. *Later additions:* 1st Donati altered to David ep. & con. xii lc.; 2nd Sci Cedde ep. xii lc.; 14th Officium in conventu pro patribus et matribus.

APRIL

[*Wanting in N°.* 13]

BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
DAY		
1	*Quintini m.*	
2 Uualerici cf.		
3 Theodosiae v.		
4 Ambrosii	*Ambrosii ep.*	Ambrosii ep.
8 Successi et Solutoris		
11	*Leonis pp.*	Leonis pp.
F. Guthlaci anachoritae.	*Guthlaci cf.*	Guthlaci
13 Eufemiae v.		Euphemiae v.
14 S. Tiburtii Ualeriani et Maximi	Tiburtii et Ualeriani	Tyburtii et Ualeriani
16 Felicis. Luciani		
18		
19 Gagi et Rufi		
	Aelfeachi arep.	Aelfheahi arep.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*		GRADING
DAY		
29		
30	Stephani 9.	

COLL. IV and V. *Later entries in N° 7*: 1st S. David ep. et confess. xii lc.; 2nd S. Sedde ep. et confess. xii lc.; 10th Obitus domini Johannis Bokynham ep. Lincoln.; 14th Anniversarius patrum et matrum nostrarum; 18th Sci Edwardi regis et mr. II.—*In N° 10*: 18th Passio S. Edwardi.—*In N° 12*: 4th Ob. Willi. Sellyng.

APRIL

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *XII-XV C*		GRADING
DAY		
1	Marie Egyptiace 5.	
2	Marie Egyptiace 7-9.	
3		
4	4, 6-12.[1]	xii lc 7, 8; in c. 10-12.
8		
11	6, 9.	
13	5, 9.	
14	4-12.	iii R 7, 8, 10, 12.
16		
18	Vigilia 12.	'in hac vigilia dicitur Gla. in exc.' 12.
19		
	4-12	III, 7, 8, 10, 12; 'princip.' 11.

[1] *On the 4th.*—In N° 5 Ambrose is seemingly in mistake entered at 3rd.

BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
DAY		
20 Marcelli. Petri		
21		
22 Leonis ep.		
23 S.Georgii m.	Georgii m.	Georgii m.
24 S.Melliti arep. Anglorum		
25 [Marci euuangl.][1]	Marci ev.	Marci ev.
[Letania maior][1]	Letania Maiora	Laetania maior
26		
27 Germani[1]		
28 Uitalis m.	Uitalis m.	Vitalis m.
29		
30		Erkenwoldi ep.

Col. I. *Benedictions in Harl. MS.* 2892 (ff. 147[a]—148[b]) for SS. Elphege and Mark evang.

Col. II. *Missal of c.* 1120 omits feasts italicized; adds 13th Eufemia.

Col. III. *Later additions:* 21st Anselmi archiep. in albis; 23rd a late grading 'in capp.' found in no other MS.

[1] *On the 25th and 27th.*—These two entries at the 25th are in a different hand, or in the same hand at another time; after the entry of Germanus at the 27th there is an erasure.

MAY

[*Wanting in N°.* 13]

BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
DAY		
1 Natal. ap. Philippi et Jacobi [1]	Ap. Phil. et Jacobi ✠	Ap. Phil. et Jacobi

[1] *On the 1st.*—To this entry was doubtless prefixed 'S.' now to me illegible.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*		GRADING
DAY		
20		
21	Anselmi arep. 5, 7, 8, 11, 12.	in a. 7, 8, 11, 12.[2]
22		
23	4-12.	iii R 7, 8; xii lc 10, 12; quasi in a. 13.
24		
	Wulfridi arch. 9.	
25	4-12.	xii lc 7, 8, 12; in c. 10 11.
	6, 7, 11.	
26	Cleti 9.	
27		
28	4-7, 9-12.	iii R 7, 10, 11; xii lc 12.
29	Germani 9.	
30		
	Quintini 9.	

COLL. IV and V. *Later entries in N° 7*: 9th Obitus Edwardi quarti A. D. 1483; 27th Sithe virginis (at this day also an entry as to consecration of David bp. of St. Asaph and Milo bp. of Llandaff).—*In N° 10*: 18th 'canitur de S. Elphego iii lc.' (i. e. a vigil); 21st Anselmi archiep. Cant. De reliquiis ecclesie in alb.—*Foreign entry in N° 6*: 23rd Felicis Fortunati et Achillei.

[2] *On the 21st.*—In N° 4 St. Anselm has a mere obit: 'Ob. pie memorie Anselmus arch.'; in N^os 5 and 6 the entry is: 'Anselmi arch.'; in N^os 7 and 8 the feast is certainly liturgical, with the grading 'in albis'; for N° 10 see note on coll. IV and V.

MAY

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*		GRADING
DAY		
1	4-12.	in a. 7, 8; in c. 10, 11.

DAY	BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
2		*Athanasii ep.*	Athanasii ep.
3 F.	Inuentio s. crucis Euentii Theodoli et Alexandri	Inu. s. crucis Alex. Euent. et Theodoli	Inu. s. crucis Alex. Eu. et Theodoli
4			
6	S. Johannis ante port. latinam	Johannis ap. a. p. l.	Joh. ap. a. p. l.
7			
8	Uictoris m.		
9			
10	S. Gordiani et Epimachi	Gordiani et Epim.	Gordiani atq. Epim.
12	S. Nerei Achillei et Pancratii	Ner. Ach. et Pancr.	Ner. Ach. et Pancr.
13	Dedic. eccl. S. Mariae		
14	Uictoris Quarti et 404 mar.		
16	Eugeniae v.		
18 S.	Marci ev. 'Et scae Aelfgife'	'*Sce Aelfgyfe regine*'	
19 F.	Dunstani arep. Potentiane v.	Dunstani arep.	Potentianae v.[2]
22	[1]		

[1] *On the* 22*nd*.—In later hand 'Sci Æthelberhti mr'.

[2] *On the* 19*th*.—In Ar. 155 after St. Potentiana comes: 'Et Sci DUNSTANI EPI'. The insertion of Dunstan in the second place after Potentiana in a calendar of the Cathedral must at once arrest attention; and on examination this entry shews quite exceptional graphic features as compared with the ordinary work of the scribe,—the use of capitals whilst capitals are not used for Augustine or Elphege, and the use of a cédille as sign of abbreviation over 'epi' instead of a straight stroke. The exceptional history of this feast at Canterbury cathedral (see pp. 32-33, 63-64, above) seems to explain these exceptional features; I consider, then, that the entry of Dunstan formed no part of the calendar of Arundel MS. 155 as it first left the hands of the scribe; and I am therefore disposed to assign this calendar to the last years of Lanfranc. On the assumption that the

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*		GRADING
DAY		
2		
3	4-12.	in a. 7, 8, 10.
	4, 6-8, 10-12.	viii lc 7, 11; com 10 ['viii lc', *alia manu*]
4	Quiriaci 5.	
	Dedic. Eccl. Christi 4.	
6	4-12.	iii R 7; xii lc 10; quasi in a. 11.
7	Johis. de Beverlaco 9.	
8		
9	Transl. Nicolai arch. 9.	
10	4-12.	iii R 7, 8, 10-12.
12	5-12.	xii lc 7, 10-12.
13		
14		
16	Eugeniae 5.	
18		
	de sco Dunstano 11.	iii R 11.
19	Dunstani arep. 4-12.	III 7, 8, 10-12.
	6, 8.	
22	Helene 9.	

entry of Dunstan belonged to the scribe's first concept, the date of the calendar would be somewhat later. Of the precise circumstances, steps, date, of the decline or eclipse of St. Dunstan's cult in Canterbury cathedral we know nothing. Nor is it likely that after its revival these would be recorded. Osbern and Eadmer have indeed much to say as to Lanfranc's supernatural relations with his holy predecessor; but these later narratives cannot do away with the formal testimony of Lanfranc's own Constitutions than which nothing can be more positive and authentic. It is to be remembered that in those days the *jus liturgicum* resided in the individual bishop; and Anselm by his mere fiat could restore to honour the liturgical cult of Dunstan which Lanfranc, as his Constitutions shew, had ignored if not suppressed.

BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
DAY		
25 Urbani pp. Aldhelmi ep.	Urbani pp.	Urbani pp.
26 F. Augustini arep. Anglor. primi	Agustini arep. ✠	Augustini arep.
28 Germani ep.		Germani ep.
30 Felicis pp.		
31 Petronellae v.	Petronelle v.	Petronellae v.

Col. I. *Benedictions in Harl. MS.* 2892 (ff. 149b—154b) for SS. Philip and James, 'St. James apostle brother of the Lord', St. Philip apostle, Finding of Holy Cross, Vigil of St. Dunstan, St. Dunstan, and St. Augustine.

Col. II. *Missal of c.* 1120 omits italicized feasts; and adds 3rd Juvenalis, (20th) Ethelbert k. and mart.

Col. III. *Later additions:* 4th Dedicatio aecclesiae xpi. Cantuariae; 9th Translacio sci Andr. ap.; 12th Obiit bone memorie

JUNE

BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
DAY		
1 S. Nicomedis m.	Nicomedis m.	Nicomedis m.
2 S. Marcellini et Petri	Marcellini et Petri	Marcellini et Petri
3 Herasmi m.		
4	*Petroci cf.*	
5 Bonifatii ep.	*Bonefacii m.*	Bonifacii ep.
6 Amanti ep. et Luci		
8 Medardi ep. Audomari		Medardi ep.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*		GRADING
DAY		
25	4-8, 10-12.	com 7, 10, 12.
	Oct. S. Dunstani 6-8, 11-12.	in a. 7, 8, 10, 11.
26	4-12.	III (?) 7; II 8, 10-12.
28	4-12.	iii R 7, 8, 10-12.
30	Felicis pp. 6.	
31	5, 6, 9.	
	Theobaldus q° (i. e. probably 'cocus'; the margin is cut); 19th et Sci Dunstani ep. (see note 2 page 88); 22nd Obiit pie memorie Ricardus Ambianensis episcopus; 25th Octave Sci Dunstani.	
Coll. IV and V.	*Later entries in N°* 10: 18th de sancto Dunstano 3 lc. (i. e. a vigil).—*Foreign entries in N°* 6: 1st Andeoli; 5th Juviniani lectoris; 11th Maioli abb.; 14th Victoris et Corone; 20th Austregisili ep.	

JUNE

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*		GRADING
DAY		
1	6, 9.	
	Oct Augustini 6-8, 10-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10, 12, 13.
2	4, 6-13.	com 7, 8, 13.
	Odonis arep. 4-8, 10-13.	II 7; in c. 8, 10-13.
3		
	Ordinat. Thome 13.	
4		
5	9 (B. soc. que.)	
6		
8	6 and 9 (M. & Gildardi).	
	Transl. Elphegi 4-8, 10-13.	II 7, 8, 10-13.
	'Sci W. Ebor. ar.' 13.	

DAY	BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
9 S.	Primi et Feliciani	Primi et Feliciani	Primi et Feliciani
10		*Ded. eccl. S. Mariae*	
11	Barnabae ap.	Barnabe ap.	Barnabae ap.
12 S.	Basilidis Cirini Naboris et Nazari	Bas. Cir. Nab. et Naz.	Bas. Cyr. Nab. et Naz.
14		*Basilii ep.*	
15 S.	Eadburge v.	Eadburge v. ✠	Uiti et Modesti
16		Cirici et Julitte	
17	Botulfi abb.		
18 S.	Marci et Marcelliani	Marci et Marcelliani	Marci et Marcelliani
19 S.	Geruasi et Protasii	Geruasi et Protasii	Geru. et Prothasii
20			
21		Leothfredi cf.	
22 F.	Albani m.	Albani m.	Albani m.
23 S.	Aetheldrythe v. V(igilia)	Aetheldrithe v. VIGILIA	Aetheldrythae v. Vigilia
24 F.	NATIV. JOH. BAPT.	NATIV. JOH. BAPT. ✠	NATIV. JOH. BAPT.
26 S.	Johannis et Pauli Salui m.	Johannis et Pauli	Johannis et Pauli Salui ep.
28	Leonis pp.	Leonis pp.	Leonis pp.
	VIGILIA APOSTOLORUM.	VIGILIA	Vigilia

DAY		GRADING
9	4-9, 11-13.	com 7, 11-13.
	Transl. Edmundi arep. 10-13.	xii lc 10; ct 11; iii R 12.
10		
	Vigilia 13.	
11	4-13.	xii lc 7, 8; in c. 10, 11, 13 (13 also: xii lc).
12	4-13.	com 7, 12; iii lc 8, 10, 11.
14	Basilii ep. et cf. 6, 9.	
	Viti et Modesti 12.	
15		
	4-11, 13.	com. 7, 11, 13.
	Oct. Elphegi 7, 8. 10-13.	xii lc. 7, 11-13; iii R 10.
16	Cirici et Julitte 4, 6-9, 11-13.	(?) iii lc. 7; iii lc 8; ct. 11; com. 12, 13.
	Transl. Ricardi 10, 12, 13.	xii lc. 10, 12, 13.
17	Botulfi abb. 5-8, 13.	
18	4-13.	iii lc. 7, 8, 10-13.
19	4-13.	iii lc. 7, 8, 10-13.
20	Transl. Edwardi r. et m. 9, 12, 13.	III 12.
21		
	Siburgis v. 13.	
22	4-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10-12.
23	4-13.	iii lc 7, 10, 11.
	7, 8, 10, 12, 13.	
24	4-13.	II 7, 8, 10-13.
26	4, 6-13.	cc. et l 7; iii R 12.
	4-8, 10-13.	xii lc 7, 12; in a. 8, 10, 11, 13.
28	4-13.	iii R 7, 8, 10-13.
	7, 8, 10-13.	

DAY			
29 F.	Passio Petri prin-cipis apostolor.	Aplor. Petri et Pauli ✠	Aplor. Petri et Pauli
30 F.	Decollatio Pauli	Pauli ap. ✠	Pauli ap.

Col. I. *Benedictions in Harl. MS.* 2892 (ff. 156ᵃ —161ᵇ) for Transl. of St. Elphege, SS. Barnabas, Etheldreda, Vigil and Nativity of St. John Bapt., Salvius bp. & m., Vigil and feast of SS. Peter and Paul, alia benedictio de S. Petro ap., Commemoration of St. Paul.

Col. II. *Missal of c.* 1120 omits italicized feasts; adds 15th Vitus m.

Col. III. *Later additions:* 1st Oct. Sci Augustini xii lc.; 2nd Odonis arep. (see p. 29 n. 1; the Bodl. MS. Add. C: 260 has at 2 June in small letters, black: 'Odonis archiepi. Marcellini et Petri.'); 8th Translatio Sci Aelfegi arep.;

JULY

[*Wanting in N°* 13]

BOSWORTH		ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
DAY			
1			
2 S.	Processi et Martiniani	Processi et Martiniani	Suuythuni ep.
	Swithuni	Swithuni ep. ✠	Processi et Martiniani
3	Transl. Thomae ap.		
4	Transl. Martini		
		Ordinat. et Tr. Mart.	Ord. et Tr. Mart.
5			

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*		GRADING
DAY		
29	4-13.	II 7, 8, 10, 11, 13; Gla. Credo Pref. 12.
30	4-13.	in a. 7, 8, 10, 11, 13.

9th Translacio S. Edmundi; 15th Oct. Sci Aelfegi; 16th Cirici et Julite matris eius, Translacio S. Ricardi ep. xii lc.; 20th Translacio Sci Eduuardi prin.; 25th Sci. Amphibali sociorumque eius; 30th Sci Marcialis ep. et conf.

COLL. IV and V. *Later entries in N° 7*: 5th Obit of Leonellus Power, 1445; 16th Tanslacio Sci Ricardi ep. xii lc.; 20th Translacio Sci Edwardi regis et mart.—*Foreign entries in N° 6*: 1st Reveriani et Pauli; 12th 'et Celsi' added to Basilides etc.; 20th Florentie v.; 22nd Consortie v. (in a later hand cent. XIII).

JULY

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*		GRADING
DAY		
1	Oct. Joh. Bapt. 4, 6-12.	xii lc 7, 8, 10, 11.
2	5-8, 10-12.	viii lc 7; xii lc 8, 10, 12; quasi in a. 11.
	4, 6-8, 10-12.	com 10, 12.
3		
4	Tr. Martini 5, 9.	
	8.	xii lc 8.
	Ord. Martini 4, 6, 7, 10-12.	xii lc 7, 10, 11; iii R 12.
5	Hyrenei soc. que eius 7, 8, 10, 11, 12.	iii R 7, 8, 10, 12; com 11.
	Oct. Apost. 11.	

DAY	BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
6 S.	Oct. Apostolor.	Oct. Apost.	[2][Oct. Apost.]
	Sexburge v.	Sexburge v.	Sexburge v.
7	Marine Aethelburge v.	*Haedde ep.*	
8	Grimboldi mon. Wihtburge	Grimbaldi cf. ✠	
10 S.	vii fratrum	vii fratrum	vii fratrum
11 S.	Transl. Benedicti abb.	Tr. Bened. abb.	Tr. Bened. ab.
13 S.	Mildrythe v. Serapionis		Mildrythe v.
14			
15 S.	Deusdedit arep. Trans. Swithuni	Tr. Swithuni	Tr. Swythuni ep.
16	Berhtini abb.		
17	Kynelmi m.	Kenelmi m.	Kenelmi m.
18		Eadburge v.	
20	Margarete Wulfmari	Wulfmari cf. Margarete v.	Wulmari cf. Margaretae v.
21 S.	Praxedis v.	Praxedis v.	Praxedis v.
22	Uuandregisili abb.	[1]	
23 S.	Uincentii et Apollonaris	Apollonaris m.	Apollonaris ep et m.

[1] *At the* 22*nd* Ar. 60 has in a slightly later hand: Maria Magd. Wandregisle cf.

[2] *At the* 6*th* an erasure in Ar. 155; the first letter was seemingly O; doubtless of Oct. Apost.

DAY		
6	Oct. Apost. 4, 6-10, 12.	xii lc 7, 10, 11; Gla. Credo Pref. iii R 12.
	5, 6, 8.	iii lc 8.
	De S. Thoma 11.	iii R de hystoria 11.
7		
	Transl. Thome 7-12.	III 7, 8, 10-12.
8	Grimbaldi 4-8, 10-12.	iii R 7; com 10.
	Transl. Witburge 9.	
10	4-12.	iii lc 7, 12.
11	4-12.	II 7, 8; in c. 10, 11; III 12.
13	4-8, 10-12.	xii lc 7, 10, 12; quasi in a. 11.
14	Oct. Thome 7, 8 10-12.	in a. 7, 11, 12; xii lc 8, 10.
15	Deusdedit arep. 7.	
	9.	
16		
	Divisio apostolorum 12.	
17	9.	
18	[1]	
	Oct. Benedicti 6-8, 10-12.	xii lc. 7, 8, 10-12.
	Arnulphi ep. et m. 9.	
20	4, 6-8, 11, 12.	com. 7, 12.
	4-12.	xii lc. 7, 8, 10, 12; quasi in a. 11.
21	4-12.	iii lc. 7, 10, 11.
	Wandregisili abb. 8.	
22	Marie Magd. 4-12.	in a. 7, 8, 10, 12.
	Wandregisili cf. 4, 6, 7, 11, 12.	com 7, 12.
23	4, 6-12.	xii lc. 7; iii R 10-12.

[1] From the 18th to the end of the month N° 8 by mistake enters the feasts one day too early (e. g. Oct. S. Bened. at 17th).

BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
DAY		
24	*Cristine v. Vigilia*	
25 F. {Jacobi ap. / Cristophori m.	Jacobi ap. ✠ Christophori m.	Jacobi ap. Christophori m.
27 Septem dormientium	vii dormientium	vii dormientium
28 Samsonis	*Samsonis ep.* Pantaleonis m.	Pantaleonis m. Samsonis ep.
29 S. Felicis Simplicii Faustini et Beatricis	Fel. S. Faust. B.	Fel. S. Faust. et B.
30 S. Abdonis et Sennis	Abdon et Sennen	Abdon et Sennes
31 Germani cf.		Germani ep.

Col. I. *Benedictions in Harl. MS.* 2892 (ff. 162a—165a) for St. Swithun, Oct. of SS. Peter and Paul, Translation of St. Benedict, SS. Mildred and James ap.

Col. II. *Missal of c.* 1120 is defective from 17th to 22nd July; omits feasts italicized; adds 1st Vigil of St. Swithun, 31st Germanus cf.

Col. III. *Later additions:* 1st Octave Sci Johannis; 3rd Translatio Sci Thome ap.; 5th Sci Yrenei sociorumque eius, Octave Apostolorum xii lc.; 7th Translacio Sci Thome mar.; 8th Sci Grimbaldi conf.; 13th Silee apostoli; 14th Oct. Sci Thome; 18th Oct. Sci Benedicti (a later hand adds the grading 'in alb.' found in no other MS.); 22nd Mariae Magdalenae, Wandregisili abb; 24th Scae Christine v. et mar.; 31st Sci Neoti abb.

AUGUST

BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
DAY		
1 Passio Machabeorum	Ad uinc. S. Petri	Ad uinc. S. Petri

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*		GRADING
DAY		
24	Cristine v. et m. 4-12. Vigilia 8, 10–12.	lc iii. 7, 10, 11.
25	4-12. et Cucufatis 4, 6-9, 12.[1]	in a. 7, 8; in c. 10-12. com. 7, 12.
27	5-12.	iii lc. 8, 12; com. 10.
28	4-12. 9	iii lc. 7, 8, 10-12.
29	4, 6-12.	iii lc. 7, 8, 10-12.
30	4-12.	iii lc. 7, 8, 10-12.
31	4-12. Neoti abb. 4, 5, 7, 8, 10-12.	iii lc. 7, 8, 10-12. com. 7.

COLL. IV and V. *Later entries in N° 7*: 16th Translatio S. Osmundi ep. et conf., com.; 21st an entry as to the battle of Shrewsbury; 23rd Obitus dompni J. Sarysbury; 26th Anne matris Marie.—*In N° 10*: at 5th 'iii R' is altered to 'com. hic canitur de a', at 6th 12 lc. of Oct. Apost. is altered to 'canitur de S. Thoma'(= a Vigil. Thus, on the institution of a vigil for the Translation of St. Thomas, Oct. Apost. was transferred to the 5th and Irenaeus reduced to a commemoration); 22nd Wandregisili abb.; 25th Cristofori et Cucufatis com. *Foreign entries in N° 6*: 21st Victoris soc. que; 28th Nazarii et Celsi.

[1] *At the 25th* in 11 by a later hand: 'Anne in cappis altis'.

AUGUST

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*		GRADING
DAY		
1	4-13.	in a. 7, 8, 10-13.

BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
DAY		
Petri ad[1] [uinc]	Machabeorum Athelwoldi ep.	Machabeorum
2 S. Stephani ep.	Stephani pp.	Stephani pp.
3 S. Inuentio corporis Stephani protom.	Inu. Steph. protom.	Inu. corporis Steph. protom.
5 S. Osuualdi r. et m.	Oswaldi r. et m.	Osuualdi r. et m.
6 S. Syxti ep. Felicissimi et Agapiti	Fel. Sixti et Agap.	Syxti Fel. et Agap.
7	Donati ep.	Donati ep. et m.
8 S. Cyriaci m.	Ciriaci m.	Cyriaci m.
9 Vigilia	Vigilia	Vigilia
10 F. Laurentii Archi Diaconi	Laurentii m. ✠	Laurentii archidiaconi
11 S. Tiburtii m.	Tiburtii m.	Tyburtii m.
13 S. Yppoliti m.	Ypoliti m.	Yppoliti m.
14 S. Eusebii prb. / Vigilia	Eusebii cf. / Vigilia	Eusebii prb. / Vigilia
15 F. Assumptio Sanctae Mariae	Sanctae Mariae Assumptio ✠	Assumptio Sanctae Mariae
17 S. Octauas Laurentii	Oct. Laurentii	Oct. Laur. leuitae
18 S. Agapiti m.	Agapiti m.	Agapiti m.
19	Magni m.	Magni m.
20 Ualentini		
22 S. Timothei discipuli Pauli	Tim. et Simphoriani	Timoth. et Symph.
23		
24 S. 'Sci Patricii senioris in Glæstonia'	*Audoeni cf.*	

[1] *On the 1st.*—A piece of vellum has been pasted over the remainder of this entry.

DAY		GRADING
	7, 8, 11-13.	com 7, 11-13.
2	4, 6-13.	iii lc 7, 8, 10, 11, 13.
3	4-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10, 12, 13; quasi in a. 11.
	Nichod[emi] Gam[alielis] et Ab[ibon] 7.	
5	4-9, 11-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 11-13.
6	4, 6-13.	iii lc 7, 8, 10-13.
7	4-13.	iii lc 7, 8, 10-13.
8	4-13.	iii lc 7, 8, 10-13.
9	7, 8, 11, 12, 13.[1] Romani m. 9.	
10	4-13.	in a. 7, 8, 10-12; in a. s. 13.
11	4-12.	iii lc 7, 8, 10-12.
13	4-13.	iii lc 7, 8, 10-13.
14	4, 6-9, 11-12.	com 7, 8, 11, 13.
	7, 12, 13.[1]	'iii lc iii R', 7.
15	4-13.	III 7, 8, 10-13.
17	4, 6-13.	com 7, 10, 11, 13; iii lc 8, 12.
18	4-13.	com 8, 10-13; iii lc 8.
19	4-13.	com 7. 10-13; iii lc 8.
20		
22	4-8, 10-13.	com 7, 12.
	Oct. Mariæ 4, 6-13.	in. a 7, 10; in a. a. 11, 13.
23	Vigilia 7, 8, 11-13.[1] Timothei 9.	
24		
	Audoeni 4.	

[1] For the vigils of the 9th 14th and 23rd in N° 10 see the note on Column IV.

BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
DAY		
		[2] [Bartholomei ap.]
25 F. BARTHOLOMEI AP.[1]	BARTHOLOMEI AP.	
		[2] [Audoeni arep.]
26		
27	*Rufi m.*	Rufi m.
	Hermetis m.[3]	
28 S. Hermetis m.	Agustini magni	Augustini magni ep.
		Hermetis m.
29 F. { DECOLLATIO JOH. BAPT.	DECOLAT. JOH. BAP.	Decoll. Joh. Bapt.
{ Sabine	Sabine v.	Sabinae v.
30 S. Felicis et Adaucti	Fel. et Adaucti	Fel. et Adaucti
31 S. Aidani ep.		
	Pauli ep.	

COL. I. *Benedictions in Harl. MS.* 2892 (ff. 165[b]—172[b]) for St. Peter's Chains, 'Ben. eodem die natale sanctorum Machabeorum et sancti Aethelwoldi episcopi' (it hence appears that the feast of St. Ethelwold had been adopted before the Conquest at Canterbury cathedral, or at least some commemoration of this Winchester saint was made at Mass and doubtless at office), Invention of St. Stephen, Vigil of St. Laurence, Laurence, Vigil of Assumption, Assumption, Audoen, Bartholomew, Augustine, Beheading of St. John Baptist.

COL. II. *Missal of c.* 1120 omits italicized feasts.

[1] *On the 25th.*—The entry of Bartholomew in B is partially erased.

[2] *On the 24th and 25th.*—These two names in Ar. 155 are on erasures, the initial 'Sci' of the original scribe remaining in both entries. The case has been dealt with in some detail p. 73 n. 1 *supra*. In calendar 4 'Audoeni' is found, as shewn in Column IV, at both the 24th and 25th.

[3] *On the 27th.*—This is a displacement in Ar. 60; the 28th is the feast day of St. Hermes and so appears in the missal of c. 1120 as well as in the two earlier Winchester calendars (Vitellius and Titus).

DAY		GRADING
	4-13.	II 7; in c. 8, 10-13.
25		
	4-8, 10-13.	II 7; in c. 8, 10-12; in c. a. 13.
26	Sci Bregwini arep. 13.	
27	4-13.	iii R 7, 10, 12, 13.
28	4-13.	II 7; in c. 8, 10, 12, 13; in c. s. 11.
	4, 6-8, 10-13.	com 7, 11.
29	4-13.	in a. 7, 8, 10-12; in a. s. 13.
	6-8, 12.	com 7.
30	4-13.	iii lc 7, 8, 10-13.

Col. III. *Later additions:* 2nd Translatio Sci Albani mr.; 20th Bernardi abbatis Clareuallensis; 22d Oct. S. Mariae in alb.

Coll. IV and V. *Later entries in N°* 10: 1st Machabeorum com.; 9th vig. canitur ad mandatum; 14th vig. canitur de Sca Maria cum miserere; 23rd vigilia canitur ad mandatum (these are the Vigils of St. Laurence, Assumption, and St. Bartholomew).—*Foreign entries in N°* 6: 1st Eusebii; 6th Transfiguratio Domini; 8th Largi et Smaragdi; 11th Taurini; 13th Oct. Transfigurationis, Radegundis reginae; 20th Philiberti abb.; 25th Genesii et Genesii Aredii; 27th Cesarii ep.

SEPTEMBER

DAY	BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
1	Prisci m.	Prisci m.	Prisci m.
2			
3			
4	Marcellini ep.		
		Transl. Birini et Cuthberhti ep.	Tr. Cuthberhti et Byrini ep.
5	Berhtini cf.	Berhtini abb.	Bertini abb.
8	F. (Nativitas Sanctae Mariae Adriani m.	Nativ. S. Mariae ✠	Nativ. S. Mariae
9	S. Gorgonii m.	Gorgoni m.	Gorgonii m.
10		Transl. Athelwoldi ep.	
11	S. Proti et Jacinthi	Proti et Jacincti	Proti et Jacincti m.
13			
14	S. (Exaltatio Sanctae Crucis Cornelii et Cipriani	Exalt. S. Crucis Corneli Cipriani	Exalt. S. Crucis Corneli et Cypriani
15	S. Nicomedis m.	Nicomedis m.	Nicomedis m.
16	S. Lucie[1] et Geminiani	Eufemie	Euphemie
		Lucie et Geminiani	Luce et Geminiani
17		*Landberhti m.*	Landberhti ep. et m.
19	S. Theodori arep. Anglorum		
20	Vigilia	Vigilia	Vigilia

[1] *On the 16th.*—The 'i' of 'Lucie' is interlined in B.

SEPTEMBER

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*		GRADING
DAY		
1	4, 5, 7, 8, 10-13.	com 7,10,12; 'cant. et lectio' 11.
	Egidii 4-13.	xii lc 7,8,10,12; quasi in a. 11; xii lc. q. i. a. 13.
2	Antonini 9.	
3	Ordinatio Gregorii 4-13.	II 7,8,12; in c. 10,11; in c. a. 13.
4	Tr. Cuthberti 9.	
5	4-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10-13.
8	4-13.	II 7, 8, 10, 12.
	Adriani m. 4, 6-8, 10-13.	com 7, 8, 10, 11, 13.
9	4-13.	com 7, 10, 13; 'co. iii R' 12.
10		
	Oct. Gregorii 6-8, 10-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10-13.
11	4-13.	com 7. 10, 13.
13	Transl. Augustini 4-8, 10-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 11-13.
14	4-13.	in a. 7, 8, 10, 13; viii lc 12; xii lc 13.
	4, 6-8, 10-13.	viii lc 7; com (?) 12; cc 13.
15	4, 5, 7, 8, 10-13.	com 7, 11-13.
	Oct. Mariæ 6-8, 10-13.	xii lc 7, 10, 11, 13.
16	4-8, 10-13.	iii R 7, 8, 10-13.
	6.	
17	4-13.	iii R 7, 8, 10-13.
19	Theodori arep. 4-8, 10-13.	xii lc 7,8,10,11,13; iii R 12.
20	7, 8, 11, 12.[1]	

[1] *On the* 20*th*.—For this vigil in N° 10 see the note on Col. IV.

BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 515
DAY		
21 F. Mathei ap. et ev.	Mathei ap. et ev. ✠	Mathei ap. et ev.
22 S. Mauricii cum sociis suis vi milibus. DC. lxvi	Mauricii c. soc.	Mauricii c. s. suis
23	*Tecle v.*	
24 S. Conceptio Johannis Bapt.	*Conc. Joh. Bapt.*	Conc. Joh. Bapt.
25 S. 'Sci Ceolfrithi abb. in Glæstonia'		
	Firmini m.	
26	'*Scor. Cipriani et sci. Justine v.*'	
27 S. Cosme et Damiani	Cosme et Damiani	Cosmae et Damiani
29 F. Dedic. basilicae S. Michaelis	Michaelis archang. ✠	Michahelis arch.
30 S. Hieronimi prb. Honorii arep. Anglorum	Hieronimi prb.	Hieronimi prb.

Col. I. *Benedictions in Harl. MS.* 2892 (ff. 173[b]—179[a]) for Vigil and feast of Nativ. of B. V., Exaltation of Holy Cross, Vigil and feast of St. Matthew, St. Michael archangel, and St. Jerome.

Col. II. *Missal of c.* 1120 omits saints italicized; and adds 7th Vigil of Nativity of B. V. and 8th St. Adrian.

Col. III. *Later additions:* 1st Egidii conf.; 3rd Ordinatio Sci Gregorii pape; 8th Adriani mr.; 9th Sci Audomari ep.

OCTOBER

BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
DAY		
1 Remedii		

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*		GRADING
DAY		
21	4-13.	in a. 7, 8,; in c. 10, 11, 13; Gla. Cr. Pref. 12.
22	4-13.	xii lc 7 (?), 8, 10, 12, 13; quasi in a. 11.
23	Tecle v. 9.	
24	5.	
25		
	Firmini ep. 9.	
26	Cipriane et Justine 9.	
27	4-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10-13.
29	4-13.	II 7,8,10-13 (later hand III 13).
30	4-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10, 12; in c.s. 11; in c. xii lc 13.
	Honorii arep. 7.	

Teruannensis; 10th Oct. S. Gregorii; 13th Translatio Sci Augustini; 15th Oct. S. Mariae; 19th Theodori archiep.; 25th Sci Firmini Ambianensis ep. et martiris.

COLL. IV and V. *Later entries in N°* 10: 7th canitur de S. Maria (= a vigil); 20th canitur ad mandatum (= for vigil).—*Foreign entries in N°* 6: 4th Marcelli m.; 7th Evurtii ep.; 9th Dorothei; 16th Valerii, Nichomedis; 24th Andochii Tyrsi et Felicis; 28th Exuperi ep. et c.; 30th Victoris et Ursi.

OCTOBER

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*		GRADING
DAY		
1		

BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
DAY		
	Germani Remigii Uedasti	Remigii Ved. Germ.
2 Eleutherii Quirilli	*Leodegari m.*	Leodegarii ep et m.
3 Uictoris		
4		
6		
7 S. Marci pp.	Marci pp.	Marci pp.
8	*Iwigii cf.*	
9 S. Dionisii Rustici et Eleutherii	Dionis. Rust. et El.	Dionisii ep. Rust. prb. et Eleutherii diac.
10 Paulini hrofensis ep.	*Paulini ep.*	
11		
12 Uuilfrithi ep.	*Uuilfriai ep.*	
13		
14 S. Calesti pp.	Kalesti pp.	Calisti pp.
15		
16		
17 Nothelmi arep.	*Aetheldrithe v.*	
18 S. Lucae ev.	Luce ev.	Lucae ev.
	Justi m.	
19		

DAY		GRADING
	Germ. Rem. Ved. 6.	
	Germ. Remig. 4, 5, 7-9.	iii R 7.
	Remig. Germ. 10-13.	iii R 10, 11, 13.
2		
	4, 6-13.	iii R 7,8,10; 'cant' 11; com 12.
	Thome Heref. ep. 11-13.	xii lc 12, 13.
3		
4	Francisci cf. 9,	
6	Fidis v. et m. 4-13.	iii R 7, 8; viii lc 11; com 12.
	Transl. Hugonis ep. 10-13.	xii lc 10, 12; quasi in a. 11.
7	4, 6-8, 10, 12, 13.	cc 7; cc et lc 10, 12.
	Marci et Marcelli 9.	
	Osithe v. 4-8, 10-13.	xii lc 7, 8; viii lc 10, 11.
8		
9	4-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10, 12, 13; quasi in a. 11.
10	Paulini ep. 4-8, 10-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10-13.
11	Nicasii soc.que 4, 6-13.	iii R 7, 8, 10-13.
12	Wilfridi ep. 4-13.	II 7; in c. 8, 10, 11, 13; in c. a. 12.
13	Transl. Edwardi reg. 10-13.	III 10-13.
14	4-13.	iii R 7, 8, 10-13.
15	Wulfranni 9.	
16	Michaelis archang. 4.	
17		
18	4-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10; in c. s. 11; in c. 12; in c. xii lc 13.
19	Dedic. Eccl. S. Martini de Dovore 8.	

DAY	BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
21		*Hilarionis cf.*	
22	Philippi et Eusebii		
23			
24			
25	Crispini et Crispiniani	*Crisp. et Crispiniani*	Crisp. et Crispiniani
26			
27	Gagi VIGILIA	Vigilia	Vigilia
28 F.	PASSIO APLOR. SIMONIS ET JUDAE	AP. SIMONIS ET JUDE ✠	AP. SYMONIS ET JUDAE
30	Januarii		
31 S.	Passio Quintini m.	*Quintini m.* VIGILIA	Quintini m. Vigilia

COL. I. *Benedictions in Harl. MS.* 2892 (ff. 179ᵇ—183ᵇ) for SS. Denis and Companions, Luke ev., Vigil and feast of SS. Simon and Jude, St. Jude, and Vigil of All Saints.

COL. II. *Missal of c.* 1120 omits italicized feasts; adds at 7th Marcellus and Apuleius to Mark, at 8th Vigil of St. Denis etc., and at 16th Octave of St. Denis etc.

COL. III. *Later additions:* 2nd Sci Thome ep. xii lc; 6th Sce Fidis v. et mr., Translacio Sci Hugonis ep. xii lc; 7th Osythae v. et mr.; 10th Paulini ep. et cf.; 11th Nicasii sociorumque eius; 12th Sci Wilfridi ep. et cf.; 21st Ordinatio Sci Dunstani arep.

DAY		GRADING
21	Ordinat. S. Dunstani 4-8, 10-13.	II 7, 8 10-13.
22	xi milium virg. 9.	
23	Romani arep. 9.	
24	Felicis ep. 9.	
25	4, 6-13. Cuthberti arep. 5.	iii R 7, 10-13.
26	Celebratio Oct. S. Dunstani 11.	
27	7, 8, 11, 12.	
28	4-13.	in a. 7, 8; in c. 10, 11, 13.
30		
31	4-13. 7, 8, 10-13.	iii R 7, 8, 10 11, 13.

COLL. IV and V. *Later entries in N°* 7: 2nd Sci Thome Herefordens. x [ii lc]; 6th Translacio Sci Hugonis x [ii lc]; 13th Translacio S. Edwardi reg. et confess.; 19th S. Frideswyde virginis xii lc quasi in albis.—*In N°* 10: Sci Tho. ep. et confess. viii lc; 26th Oct. Sci Dunstani; 27th Vigilia.—*Foreign entries in N°* 6: 7th Sergi et Bachi; 13th Geraldi; 19th Aquilini; 20th xi mil. virg.; 23rd Leothadii ep. et cf., Theodorici m.; 29th Teuderii cf.

NOVEMBER

DAY	BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
1	F. Celebratio Omnium Sanctorum	Sollempnitas Omn. SS. ✠	Omnium Sanctorum
			Cesarii m.
2	Rumwaldi cf.	Eustachii cum soc.	Eustachii soc. que eius
3		*Rumwaldi cf.*	
4	Perpetuae v.		
		Byrnstani ep.	
6			
8	S. iiii Coronatorum	Quattuor Coron.	Quinque Coronatorum
9	S. Theodori m.	Theodori m.	Theodori m.
10	S. Justi arep. Anglorum		
11	F. Martini ep.	Martini ep. ✠	Martini ep.
	F. Menne m.	Menne m.	Mennae m.
13	S. Bricii ep.	*Bricii ep.*	Bricii ep.
15	Secundi		
		Mahloni cf.	
16	Augustini		

NOVEMBER

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*		GRADING
DAY		
1	4-13.	II 7, 8; III 10-13.
2	4-8, 10-13.	iii R 7, 8, 10-13.
	Commem. fidelium 10. Commem. animarum 9, 13.	
3	Vulganii cf. 4-8, 10-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10, 12; quasi. in a. 11; xii lc quasi in a. 13.
4		
6	Leonardi 4-8, 10-13.	xii lc 7, 10, 12; quasi in a. 11; xii lc. quasi in a. 13.
8	(Quatuor) 4-13.	iii R 7, 8, 10-13.
9	4-13.	iii R 7, 8, 10-13.
10		
11	4-13.	II 7; in c. 8, 11, 13; xii lc 10, 12.
	4, 6-8, 10-13.	com 7, 11, 12.
13	4-8, 10-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10, 12, 13; viii lc 11.
15		
	Macuti ep. 9.	
16		
	Ordinatio Elphegi 4-8, 10-13.	in a. 7, 10-13.
	Aelurici arep. et cf. 6[1], 7, 8, 12.	com 7.

[1] *On the 16th.*—In N° 6 the entry is 'Ælfrici anchor.' It is probable that the writer of the calendar here made some confusion between the archbishop and Ælfric the hermit of Haselbury Bryan in Dorsetshire who in the second half of the twelfth century seems to have enjoyed a more than local repute. He died about half a century before the calendar was written. But there can be no doubt that the archbishop, not the anchorite, is intended to be designated at this day whatever be the mistake of the scribe.

BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
DAY		
17	*Aniani ep.*	
18 Romani m. et Barali pueri	*Oct. Martini*	
19		
20	Eadmundi reg. et m.	Eadmundi reg. et m.
21 Gelasii pp.		
22 S. Ceciliae v.	Cecilie v.	Ceciliae v.
23 F. CLEMENTIS PAPE	CLEMENTIS M. ✠	CLEMENTIS EP. ET M. Felicitatis v.
24 S. Crisogoni m.	Crisogoni m.	Chrisogoni m.
25		
26 'Sci S'[1]		
29 Saturnini m. VIGILIA	Saturnini m. VIGILIA	Saturnini m. Vigilia
30 F. PASSIO ANDREAE AP.	ANDREE AP. ✠	ANDREAE AP.

COL. I. *Benedictions in Harl. MS.* 2892 (ff. 183[b]—188[a]) for All Saints, St. Martin, 'de Presentatione sancte Marie', SS. Cecily, Clement, Vigil and feast of St. Andrew.

COL. II. *The Missal of c.* 1120 omits italicized feasts; and adds 1st Caesarius, 23rd Felicitas m.

COL. III. *Later additions:* 3rd Sci Wlganii conf.; 6th Leonardi conf.; 16th Ordinatio Sci Aelfegi archiep.; 17th Edmundi archiep. in cappis; 18th Octave Sci Martini:

[1] *On the 26th*—There is apparently no erasure here in B. In G the entry at this day is: 'Sci Saturnini Petri et Amatoris'.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*		GRADING
DAY		
17	Aniani ep. 6. Eadmundi arep. 10-13.	in c. 10-13.
18		
	Oct. Martini 6-8, 10-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10-13.
19	Ronani ep. 4-8, 10-13.	xii lc 7,8,10,12; quasi in a. 11, 13.
20	4-7,[1] 9-13.	xii lc 7, 10-13.
21		
	Oblatio S. Marie 4, 6-8, 11-13.	in c. 11, 12; 'in c. iii R' 13; (7, 10 illegible)
22	4-8, 10-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10-13.
23	4-9, 11-13.	xii lc 7,8,12; quasi in a. 11,13.
	4, 6-8, 13.	com 7.
24	4-13.	iii R 7, 10-13.
25	Katerine v. et m. 4-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 10, 12; quasi in a. 11; 'xii lc al.' 13.
26	Lini 9, 13.	
29	4-13. 7, 8, 10-13.	iii R 7, 11, 13.
30	4-13.	II 7, 8, 11-13; III 10.

19th Ronani ep. et conf.; 21st Oblacio Sce Marie; 25th Katerinae virg. (and in a yet later hand 'in capp.')

COLL. IV and V. *Later entry in N° 7*: 25th a later grading 'in capp.' is given for St. Catherine, found elsewhere only in a late addition to N° 3.—*Foreign entries in N° 6*: Lantini ab., Cesarii Benigni Valentini et Hylarii ep.; 7th Austremonii ep. et cf.; 8th Oct. Omnium SS.; 16th Eucherii ep.; 17th Gregorii cf.; 19th Odilonis ab.; 26th Petri ep. et m.; 27th Vitalis et Agricolae.

[1] *On the 20th.*—In N° 8 there is a displacement of the entries of the 20th to the 25th; Edmund k. and m. is omitted and the feasts of the 21st to the 25th are entered at the 20th to the 24th.

DECEMBER

[1-19 *Dec. wanting in N° 10*]

DAY	BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
1	Candidae v.		
		Crisanti et Darie v.	
2			
3	Claudii Felicis		
		Dep. Birini ep.	Byrini ep.
4		*Benedicti abb.*	Transl. Bened. abb.
5	Delfini Trofimi		
6		Nicolai ep.	
7 S.	Oct. Andreae ap.	Oct. Andree	Oct. Andreae ap.
8			
10		*Oct. Birini*	
11		Damasi pp.	Damasi pp.
13 S.	Luciae v.	Lucie v.	Luciae v.
		Judoci cf. ✠	Judoci
14	Spiridionis ep.		
15		*Maximi prb.*	
16	Uictoris et Uictoriae		
20		*Vigilia*	
21 F.	Passio Thomae ap.	Thome ap. ✠	Thomae ap.
23	Syxti et Apollonaris		
24	Vigilia Dni. nri. natalis	Vigilia	Vigilia

DAY	CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CALENDARS *(XII-XV C)*	GRADING
1		
	Crisanti et Dariae 6.	
	Regressio S. Thomae 11.	in a. a. 11.
2	Regressio S. Thomae de exilio 12, 13.	in c. a. 12; in c. 13,
3		
4	6.	
5		
6	Nicolai ep. 4-9, 11-13.	in a. 7, 8, 12; in a.s. 11, 13.
7	4, 6-9, 11-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 12.
8	Conceptio S. Marie 4, 7, 9, 11-13.	in c. 11; 'in c. a. iii R' 13.
10		
	Eulaliæ 9.	
11	4, 5, 7-9, 11-13.	com 7, 12; iii R 11 13.
13	4-9, 11-13.	xii lc 7, 8, 11, 12.
	4, 7, 8, 11, 12.	com 7, 11, 12.
	Eadburge 4, 7, 8, 11-13.	com 7, 11-13.
14		
15		
16		
	Barbare v. 5-9, 11-13.	com 7, 13; iii R 12.
20	7, 8, 10-13.	
21	4-13.	II 7; in c. 10, 11, 13.
23		
24	7, 8, 10-13.	

DAY	BOSWORTH	ARUNDEL 60	ARUNDEL 155
25 (F.)	{Nativitas Dni. / Anastasiae[1]	Nativ. D. n. J. C. ✠	Nativ. Dni.
26 F.	Stephani protom.	Stephani protom. ✠	Stephani protom.
27	'A'[2]	Johannis ev. ✠	Johannis ap. et ev.
28 F.	Necatio Infantium	Innocentum ✠	Innocentum
29			'S'[3]
31 S.	Siluestri pp.	Siluestri pp.	

Col. I. *Benedictions in Harl. MS.* 2892 (ff. 189[a]—190[b], 126[a]—129[a]) for St. Birinus. (see what is said as to St. Ethelwold at 1 Aug. above), Conception of B. V., Lucy, Thomas ap., Stephen, John ap. et ev., Innocents, Silvester. A later hand has added in the margin at f. 129[a]: 'Benedictio de sancto Thoma [that is, the archbp.] sumatur de sancto Aelfego que est post Annuntiationem Dominicam.'

Col. II. *Missal of c.* 1120 is imperfect for 24th to 28th; omits italicized feasts; adds 8th 'Conceptio sanctae Mariae', 31st Silvester.—Before the mass of 'Dep. S. Byrini' is

[1] *On the 25th.*—Possibly in another hand.

[2] *On the 27th.*—The feast of St. John has been erased in B; the letter 'A' with which the entry began alone remains with (as at 25th) a trace of the feast designation 'F'.

[3] *On the 30th.*—In Ar. 155 this 'S' is followed by an erasure.

DAY		GRADING
25	4, 6-13. Anastasie 6-8.	III 7, 8, 10-13. com 8.
26	4, 6-13.	II 7,12; inc. 8,10; inc. a. 11,13.
27	4, 6-13.	II 7, 8, 10-13.
28	4, 6-13.	II 7, 12; inc. 8,10; inc. s. 11,13.
29	Thome arep. et m. 5-13.	III 8, 10-13.
31	Silvestri pp. 4, 6-12.	xii lc 7, 8, 10-13.

the direction of a mass 'ii Kal. no. Sept. Translatio sancti Byrini episcopi'; an evident blunder.—The masses of the 20th to the 28th are now missing.

Col. III. *Later additions:* 2nd Regressio Sci Thome martiris in alb.; 6th Nicholai ep. et cf.; 8th Concepcio Sce Marie in cappis; 13th Edburgis v.; 14th Sci Folquini ep. Tervannensis; 16th Sce Barbare virg. et mr.; 29th Passio Gloriosi Martyris; 31st Sci Silvestri ep. et confessoris.

Coll. IV and V. *Later entries in N° 6*: 2nd Regressio Sci Thome. In capp. alt. The same grading is given by a later hand in Bodl. MS. Add. C. 260.—*Foreign entries in N°6*: 9th Siri ep.; 10th Eulalie et Valerie; 13th 'Austroberte' (for 'Autberti'); 31st Saviniani et Potentiani.

In regard to the foregoing Table (which gives only a practical print not an edition) it is to be remembered that the value of calendars as evidence of practice varies greatly, and sometimes depends on the idiosyncrasies of the particular scribe. This may appear clearly enough on a scrutiny of the Table. The scribe of N° 5 for instance, writing it would seem about the year 1200 has preferences for saints dear to (then) modern devotion but passes over many a name of ancient martyr venerable no doubt but now forgotten, whose only claim to retention in the calendar is an unbroken tradition.

Thus this scribe omits feasts on 2, 16, 26 June, 6, 23, 29 July, the actual liturgical commemoration of which in the church of Canterbury in his day is not open to doubt. The omission then in this calendar of St. Nicasius at 11 October or of the Oblation of St. Mary on 21 November would not of itself be argument or evidence that these feasts were not then kept in that church. Or again, N° 9 shews as many as thirty foreign entries intruded into the genuine calendar; although several of these are found in the calendar of the Bosworth Psalter (B) they have nothing to do with that ancient tradition; more than half are found in the Sarum calendar and perhaps are borrowed from thence; but, as the feast of St. Francis may indicate, the choice of such insertions is due rather to the private fancy of the copyist and any name may actually be drawn by him from any quarter.

N° 4, the calendar of the Eadwine Psalter, shews the same kind of omissions and insertions. The absence of the feasts of the Purification (2 Feb.) SS. Nereus, Achilleus etc. (12 May), Swithun (2 July) and the Machabees (1 Aug.), is due, there seems no room for doubt, to mere careless omission. On the other hand the feasts enumerated p. 30 n. 1 above are, with one or two exceptions absent from this calendar as well as from the Bodleian MS. Add C. 260. This shews that at Canterbury as at Winchester the calendar of the cathedral was revised and expurgated in the first half of the twelfth century, by way of omission of elements venerable no doubt but now no longer the vogue; such as that group of ancient hermits that was still so conspicuous a feature in B. But Canterbury, as compared with Winchester, shews a certain ruthlessness in reform quite in keeping with the original manner of Lanfranc. The spirit of mildness and conservatism evidenced

at Winchester is doubtless to be traced to the influence of prior Godfrey (a sort of compatriot it might be said of the monk Goscelin at Canterbury) to whom is really and rightfully due so much of that meed of laud and liturgical renown given so gratuitously and in such abundant measure by our late ecclesiastical antiquaries and legendaries to St. Osmund but by Osmund's contemporaries (as the texts of William of Malmesbury shew) to Godfrey of Cambray.

Whatever the particular minor defects that attach to some of the calendars used in the foregoing Table either by occasional omission of names[1] or especially vigils or octaves, when it is taken as a whole there is practically no risk of confusing extraneous elements with the genuine constituents of the calendar of Canterbury cathedral; the persistence of tradition and the mention of gradings will commonly decide.[2]

It is impossible here even to indicate the many items of interest or starting-points of enquiry, which such a Table as the foregoing offers; but he who seeks will, I think, find. I may, however dwell for a moment on one or two of the less obvious. There is the enigmatical St. Ronan of 19 November peculiar to Canterbury cathedral; who or what is he? and how does he come to be here? The twelve lessons read at Canterbury for the feast are not seemingly extant; and away from books and libraries, I do not know how our English hagiologists have (if at all) settled the matter. But we may now take note in the old calendar of Canterbury cathedral B of the feast of the Antiochene martyr Romanus with the boy Baralus (an entry itself interesting when compared with the corresponding entry in G). Romanus' day however in B and G is 18 Nov., not as Ronan's in the Canterbury calendars the 19th. The earliest appearance of 'St. Ronan' to my knowledge is in the calendar Bodl. MS. Add. C 260, which would carry back his cult at Canterbury cathedral to the perhaps middle of the twelfth century, or it might be even somewhat earlier. Whilst found in all later calendars at the 19th, Ronan's feast is in this Bodley MS. assigned

[1] For instance the scribe of N° 10 omits St. Clement (23 Nov.); of N° 13 Tiburtius (11 Aug.)

[2] This suffers possible exception in the case of three entries in N° 4: St. Milburga (23 Feb.) found also in N° 6, St. Edward k. and m. (19 Mar.), and the date of St. Julian of Le Mans (27 Jan.).

by the original hand to the 18th; but it is also entered by a later hand at the 19th which had been hitherto blank. What had happened to cause this shifting? Was it the adoption at Canterbury of the Octave of St. Martin? However this may be, I am disposed to view 'St. Ronan the bishop' as a revival (by a process familiar to those who deal with early martyrologies and calendars) in a slightly different guise of that Antiochene martyr Romanus who appears in G, and in B following G.[1]

The peculiar mode of designating the grading of feasts at Canterbury is another item which should be touched on here. A certain number of additions made by later hands in the calendar of Arundel MS. 155 were never incorporated in the official calendar of Christ Church Canterbury. They are given in the notes on the third column of the Table. Among them are the following: 17 Feb. Sci Silvini epi; 22 May Obiit pie memorie Ricardus Ambianensis episc.; 13 July Silee apli; 9 Sept. Sci Audomari epi Teruannensis; 25 Sept. Sci Firmini Ambianensis epi et martiris; 13 Dec. Sci Folquini epi Teruannensis.

St. Firmin the patron of the cathedral of Amiens and the obit of Richard of Gerberoy bishop of Amiens (1205-1210) first attract

[1] The same sort of transformation lies, I take it, behind the feast of the 'Ordination of St. Augustine apostle of England' kept at St. Augustine's on 16 Nov. from at least about the middle of the thirteenth century and with the high grade of II. The direct cause of the institution of the feast may probably have been the feast of the Ordination of St. Elphege kept on this day at the cathedral from at least about the middle of the twelfth century (Bodl. MS. Add. C 260) and seemingly at first at St. Augustine's also (the St. Augustine's calendar in Ashmole MS. 1525, of about 1200-1220, had originally at 16 Nov. the feast of the Ordination of St. Elphege which has been erased). The inducement to the substitution of Augustine for Elphege I conceive to be the unattached 'Augustine' found in B and G at 16th Nov. who is no other than one of that group of Capuan or Campanian saints and martyrs with whom people were well acquainted in England in the seventh century. This Augustine's name with that of Felicitas occurs in St. Willibrord's calendar Paris B. N. MS. Lat. 10837 as well as in his martyrology; and in the calendar of Bodl. Digby MS. 63, which may date from the close of the ninth century, is an erased entry that began 'ag' and ended 'ni' and can hardly have been any other than 'Agustini'. But we may not give to the monks of St. Augustine's the credit of having been the first to effect the transformation; already in the Irish martyrology of Oengus the Culdee, a work now assigned to about the year 800, we find at 16 November this Augustine the saint of Capua turned into Augustine the first archbishop of the English, thus: 'The train of Augustine the bishop who used to love best a three days' fast; great sore grief overwhelmed them, forty beautiful pious ones'.

attention; then, the Térouanne group, St. Silvinus, St. Folquin, and St. Omer at 9 September. These entries are in the same kind of neat hand; they seem to me to be memories of the exile of the community of Christ Church Canterbury in the reign of king John, 1207-1212. Of this exile there are interesting particulars in the 'Chronica Andrensis', in *Mon. Germ. hist.*, *SS.* XXIV 740-741, cf. 737; the author tells us that the Canterbury monks were dispersed in various monasteries etc. not merely of the diocese of Térouanne just opposite the English coast, but also, he says, of 'France'. I do not know whether any historical notice exists connecting any of these exiles with Amiens; but such relations with Amiens have left a permanent record not merely in the entries just cited from Arundel 155, but in every subsequent calendar of Canterbury cathedral, and of St. Augustine's also. These two stand alone, so far as I know, among the English churches in using the Roman numerals I, II, III, (and at St. Augustine's IIII) to distinguish the gradings of the greater feasts. The Jesuit C. Guyet, who knew the French mediæval calendars really well, states on the authority of a 'vetustissimum calendarium' of the church of Amiens, that Amiens anciently followed the same mode of grading such feasts: I, II, III, IIII, (*Heortologia*, Urbini, 1728, p. 165); and from his account Amiens would seem to have been the only church in France which did so. A comparison of the gradings of Lanfranc with those given in the Table will shew these latter not to derive from Lanfranc. In the circumstances it seems more probable that Canterbury borrowed this mode of designating high grade feasts from Amiens than that Amiens borrowed from Canterbury, or that it was invented by each independently. It may be added that St. Silas the apostle and St. Silvinus are both found in the mediæval calendars of Amiens (Corblet, *Hagiographie du diocèse d'Amiens*, IV 612).

One more remark must be made: it concerns the popular cult,—popular at least among some members of the Christ Church community—of several of the earlier archbishops of Canterbury, with one or two other domestic worthies, which arose or was propagated in the fourteenth century. It might have been thought that with the accumulated glory implied in such a roll of saints as Augustine, Theodore, Odo, Dunstan, Elphege, Anselm, Thomas, with their

multiplied Ordinations, Translations, and Octaves, the most ardent or zealous spirit might have been content. But this was not so. We accordingly find in the Bodl. MS. Add. C 260 entered in later hand the following: 12 Feb. 'Sci Ethelgari arepi'; 24 March 'Sci Wulfredi arepi'; 12 May 'Sci Athelardi arepi'; 20 June 'Siburgis virg.'; 30 June 'Sci Athelredi arepi'; 26 Aug. 'Sci Bregwini arepi'; 29 Aug. 'Sci Feologildi arepi'; 26 Oct. 'Sci Cuthberti arepi'. The near neighbourhood of St. Augustine's may to some extent have been an inducement to multiply in the way of holy rivalry the saintly glories of Christ Church. One specimen at least of such private devotion and zeal in this cause survives in Sloane MS. 1939, a little vellum book of the fifteenth century; a short chronicle to 1422 at the end of the volume, and a list of kings to the coronation of Henry VI in 1429, approximately fix its date. At f. 105 is the following:

ORATIO AD OMNES SANCTOS QUORUM CORPORA
IN CANT[UARIENSI] CONTINENTUR ECCLESIA

Sol Anglorum splendens [Thomas. *erased*] miles invictissime, funde preces summo Patri, cum tuo collegio, pro devotis tuis servis nobis lapsis crimine, quo possimus promereri per vos culpe veniam, huius viteque [so MS.] labore terminato gloriam.
vel Gloriosi martires confessoresque splendidi Christi intercedite pro nostra omniumque salute. R. Ut digni effic[iamur] p[romissionibus] Christi.

Oratio. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus cuius ineffabili providentia gloriosi martires [Thomas *erased*] Alphegus, Blasius, Salvius, confessoresque tui lucidi Dunstanus, Odo, Wilfridus, Anselmus, Audoenus, Cuthbertus, Athelardus, Bregwynus, Plegmundus, Alfricus, Athelgarus, Ciricus, Wulfredus, Aethelredus, Wulfelmus, Celnothus, Fleogildus, Athelmus, Wulganius, celeberrimaque virgo Syburgis necnon et ceteri quorum reliquie in Cantuariensi continentur ecclesia, preclare vite meritis sanctorum tuorum collegio sunt ascripti, presta quesumus ut quorum memoriam in terris recolimus triumphalem eorum precibus continuis mereamur

in terra vivencium speciem tue celsitudinis contemplari. Per Dominum.[1]

Besides the cathedral calendars Mr. S. C. Cockerell has communicated to me two calendars of St. Augustine's, of the early part of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively, in the later of these the feast of St. Nothelm is revived at 17 Oct. with the Grade of I. I remember also two at the British Museum with a good deal of characteristic St. Augustine's matter though not seemingly practical calendars of that monastery. When these and others that may be extant are all brought together and compared it may be possible to determine whether or how far, the calendar of St. Augustine's, whilst retaining its own marked character, may have been influenced by that of the cathedral. If we may judge by the calender printed by Dr. Wickham Legg in his edition of the Westminster Missal (p. 1385 seqq.) from the Royal MS. 2 A xxii assigned by Sir E. M. Thompson to the later years of the reign of king Henry II, the Canterbury cathedral calendar of that date was adopted practically in its entirety by Westminster. The few omissions and additions that were made do not affect the identity of the two documents; and, what seems particularly worthy of notice, this Westminster calendar has precisely the three entries mentioned p. 121 n.2 *supra* as special to the contemporary Canterbury calendar in the Eadwine Psalter N° 4. But questions like this and others already touched on (p. 38 *supra*) that attach to the calendars of English churches and monasteries in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries must be dealt with, if at all, by other hands; they are now beyond my range.

[1] In Leland's *Collectanea* (ed. 1770 iv, 119) under the title 'Nomina sanctorum requiescentium in Cantuar. ecclesia' is the list given in this prayer, and in the same order except that at the beginning St. Thomas is omitted, and at the end are added 'S. Lanfrancus, Ediva regina'. The two leaves (265-266) in Cotton MS. Claudius B ix, from which Dart (Ap. N° ix, p. xxvi) gives a similar list, may be of the fourteenth century (?); this also contains 'venerable Lanfranc' and the 'noble queen Edyva'; Dart's print must be read across the page for the order of the MS.

III. CONCLUSIONS

BEFORE coming to the consideration of the date of the Bosworth Psalter, or of the person for whom it might have been written, it will be useful to state briefly the results obtained from the foregoing examination.

(1) In the first place this Psalter is marked off from all other known English psalters by the way in which it includes every portion of the Divine Office, except of course the lessons of Matins read by the reader alone, and the prayers said aloud by the officiant alone. The manuscript was thus evidently designed for practical use; that is, that the person who possessed it should be able to follow the whole of the Divine Office as publicly said.

(2) This Office was the Monastic or Benedictine and not the Roman or Secular Office. It has already been pointed out that the state of the MS. makes it certain that it was regularly used.

(3) The calendar contained in the volume is a calendar of the Cathedral church of Canterbury and the natural conclusion would be that the volume was also written for use in that church.

(4) It is perfectly evident from the unique character and indeed splendour of the Psalter, whether we regard its size, the handwriting or the ornamentation, that it must have been written for some great personage. No person connected with Christ Church, Canterbury, would seem to be more likely to have been the possessor of this manuscript, so notable in its art and execution, than St. Dunstan, the first ecclesiastic of the kingdom. In this connection also it must be remembered that the calendar contained in the volume is based on a calendar of the monastery of Glastonbury, which is what might be expected in the case of one who had been abbot of that house. This consideration brings us at once to the question of the probable date of the MS.

THE DATE OF THE PSALTER

Books of this kind do not ordinarily contain any internal evidence of date. This special MS., however, has an indication which it is not proper to neglect: the hymnal does not include the hymn for

St Dunstan to be found in later collections, and the compilation, therefore, probably dates before the spread of his cultus, which as all the documents go to show must have begun very soon, indeed almost immediately, after his death in A. D. 988. But in reality any judgment as to the date of this MS. must largely depend on palæographical considerations and, as those who have most experience in this matter know so well, nothing is more difficult than the formation of an exact opinion on mere palæographical grounds in the present state of the science. Taking the book, however, as it stands and turning to other English MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries, so far as these have fallen under our notice and consideration, the Bosworth Psalter would appear to have been executed in the second half of the tenth century,[1] and probably at a date nearer to the middle of the century than to the end.

We have seen that in all probability the book was made for one who publicly said the Benedictine Office at Canterbury; and further that the date when it was so used was possibly in the first part of the second half of the tenth century. Since bishop Stubbs by the publication of his *Memorials of St. Dunstan* caused a revolution in public opinion in regard to that great man much has been said and written about English monasticism in that century, and the ideas expressed by that historian have been accepted, developed and embellished by subsequent writers. But there is an initial weakness in bishop Stubbs' treatment of the subject, upon which it may be well to speak plainly. Whilst the bishop's abilities power and knowledge of course deserve every recognition, it can hardly be denied that in regard to the more purely religious side of history, as it did not attract his sympathies so he did not really take the pains necessary to understand it. We may go further and say that this is the case in regard to the ecclesiastical system of the Middle Ages. As an example it is only necessary to point to his misunderstanding of the position of the Papacy in the Middle Ages, as shown by the late Professor Maitland.

We are here concerned only with his *Memorials of St. Dunstan*.

[1] The MS. Psalter Reg. 2. B. v, which the Bosworth Psalter perhaps most resembles in the general character of the writing has been assigned to about the year A.D. 950.

Any one completely informed as to the history of monachism and acquainted with the original sources of our knowledge of the history of the tenth century at home and abroad, who, after making himself master of the original documents for the life of St. Dunstan contained in bishop Stubbs' volume, will turn to the Preface of the *Memorials*, cannot but come to the conclusion that the bishop's story is utterly unintelligible. Further, when the Preface is tested and analysed the earnest enquirer will be forced to conclude that the writer has misunderstood the history of St. Dunstan up to the time of his exile, as he has misunderstood the wider subject named above.

The root of the whole difficulty which bishop Stubbs creates for himself is in the treatment of the birth date of St. Dunstan. This once set right it is possible by closely following the original documents to give an intelligible and consistent account of the earlier part of the saint's career. It is of course not possible to examine the question at this point, but as it is a matter of some importance, and as its treatment does not depend so much on knowledge of the history of monasticism as upon sound critical methods, a special discussion on this point is appended.

The question of St. Dunstan's monachism has been unnecessarily complicated by vague talk about 'the resumption of the name and dress of a monk'—'pure Benedictinism'—or a 'Benedictine discipline' perfect accord with which it is suggested constitutes a Benedictine monk. The real point is extremely simple: the monk is constituted by his 'profession' or vow, and by that alone. Degrees of strictness are no doubt fit subjects for moral reflexions, but in the tenth century, as indeed before and subsequently, men became monks by taking the vows of religion and not by 'assuming the name and dress'; indeed the personal friend of St. Dunstan, who became his biographer, says expressly that the saint as a young man embraced 'the salutary rule (*institutio*)[1] of St. Benedict'.

Without entering upon any larger question it may be taken as certain that the Office said by St. Dunstan at Glastonbury and later in his life was the Benedictine Office. This will hardly be

[2] This is the very word used in the Bosworth Psalter to note the division in ps. 143 ordered by St. Benedict's Rule—*divisio institutionis Benedicti.*

questioned. The point however remains as to the Divine Office said at Canterbury in the tenth century—was it Benedictine such as said by monks or was it Roman, such as used by secular clergy or canons? This is not the place to discuss the monasticism of Christ Church Canterbury, but it may be useful to point out that the privilege of Archbishop Wulfred in A. D. 813 speaks of the *regula monasterialis disciplinæ* being in force there and not of canonical rule. That Odo, the uncle of Oswald, became a Benedictine monk before accepting the archbishopric of Canterbury is certain, and the obvious reason for so doing was his wish to conform himself to the public Benedictine observances in regard to church services and the Divine Office in particular, since in regard to the regular routine of the monastic life, he would as archbishop have been exempt.

So far therefore as the question of the Divine Office is concerned, there is no greater reason for assigning the Bosworth Psalter to the time of Archbishop Aelfric (995-1006) than to that of St. Dunstan. The palæographical and other considerations which point to an earlier date than the close of the tenth century may be allowed their full weight and the MS. assigned to the age of St. Dunstan.

On the question of the handwriting we have given our opinion and it is for experts to determine. On the ornamentation, however, some few words may be allowed. It seems to be quite unique among English manuscripts. It stands in marked contrast with the productions of the Winchester School of this period. These have illuminations which are compositions of the richest kind, with a free use of gold. They are both elaborate and even gorgeous, whilst the ornamentations of the Bosworth Psalter are of a wholly different character. These latter are in perfect taste, and they manifest at once a perfection of design a simplicity of execution and a wonderful harmony and scheme of colour. The whole manifests a staid and serious yet withal grand mind behind the composition. To those who know the history of the latter half of the tenth century the Winchester books can hardly fail to remind them of the personality of St. Ethelwold, and in the same way the Bosworth Psalter seems in its special characteristics

to suggest the even greater personality of St. Dunstan the greatest man of his age.

In our opinion therefore this Bosworth Psalter should be assigned to a date corresponding to the earlier years of St. Dunstan's archiepiscopate at Canterbury. It was probably written for him, and quite possibly under his direction the artist ornamented it according to his taste.

APPENDIX

SOME NOTES ON THE ACCEPTED DATE OF SAINT DUNSTAN'S BIRTH

BY

LESLIE A. StL. TOKE, B.A.

NOTE

The origin of the following paper on the birth-date of St. Dunstan is this: Some time ago Mr. L. Toke proposed to write the life of that Saint, but on examining the original materials and reading Bishop Stubbs's Preface to the *Memorials of St. Dunstan* he found himself quite unable to reconcile the particulars given in the former with the statements of the latter as to the year of Saint Dunstan's birth. As a result he felt himself unable to proceed and laid aside his project for the time. By accident Mr. Edmund Bishop heard of this and handed over to Mr. Toke the materials he had collected in an endeavour to settle the question of Saint Dunstan's birth year, as he had experienced the same difficulty and convinced himself that Bishop Stubbs was entirely mistaken in assigning it to the year A. D. 925. The collections thus placed at Mr. Toke's disposal were used by him in a further study of the subject and the paper here printed is the result of his work.

SOME NOTES ON THE ACCEPTED DATE OF SAINT DUNSTAN'S BIRTH

THE 'accepted year' for St. Dunstan's birth is 924–5. It appears in our encyclopædias and books of reference, in our popular political and ecclesiastical histories, in the writings of even the more scientific English historians who have dealt with St. Dunstan. A date so widely accepted might be supposed to rest on firm foundations. It is, however, a matter for some surprise that the difficulties, amounting to absurdities, arising out of this date do not seem to have impressed the more cautious and thoughtful writers of modern times.

For, if we adopt 925 as the year of St. Dunstan's birth and bring it into connection with such other dates in his life as are *certain*, we shall be obliged to infer that at the age of twenty-seven he had been offered the two important bishoprics of Winchester and Crediton; that he was made Abbot of Glastonbury some time between the ages of seventeen and twenty-two; that he was professed a monk and ordained a priest before he was sixteen. We must remember that the chief actors in these occurrences were prominent members of the reforming party of the day; and, without the most positive evidence, it cannot be imagined that one of the most devout and respected bishops of his time and the real originator of the English monastic movement of the tenth century would ordain as priest, and seemingly in the capital city of the kingdom, a boy of sixteen, a person that is of about half the canonical age. Yet (on the assumption that the date 925 is correct) not one, but a regular sequence of abnormalities is supposed to have taken place in the life of the first ecclesiastic of the realm. More singular still, not the slightest hint of all this is given by friend or by foe in his own day, nor is there the least mention in any of his early biographers that in the events recorded there was any contravention of church law, or anything in the slightest degree irregular in his ecclesiastical career. This should raise doubts whether there be not some mistake in the chronology which now passes as fact, and therefore there is sufficient *prima*

facie reason for examining the grounds on which the birth of St. Dunstan is assigned to the year 925.

The earliest of St. Dunstan's biographers to fix any *definite* date for his birth was Osbern, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, who wrote about the year 1090. His exact words are: 'Regnante . . . Æthelstano, anno quidem ejus primo [924–5] . . . natus est . . . Dunstanus'.[1] This statement has been copied by later mediæval historians[2] and by writers in modern times. It was first questioned by Mabillon, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. He observed that on this assumption St. Dunstan would have become a monk at the age of fifteen and yet is represented as *then* thinking of marriage. On this ground alone Mabillon rejected the date 925, and concluded that St. Dunstan was born long before that year.[3] Early in the nineteenth century Dr. Lingard rejected the whole story of St. Dunstan's early days, on the ground that it was quite irreconcilable with other known dates in the saint's life.[4]

The question remained in this state until 1874, when Bishop Stubbs edited for the 'Rolls Series' the *Memorials of St. Dunstan.* In his introduction to this volume some of the difficulties attending the question of the birth-date are noted and two pages are devoted to indicating the sources of our information on this point. No criticism of these sources is attempted, but he definitely adopts and fixes as the date of St. Dunstan's birth the year 925, the whole question being dismissed with the sentence that 'the matter is not in itself of great importance'.[5] Dr. Stubbs' conclusions have been accepted *en bloc* by later writers, and with varying degrees of positiveness it is now settled that St. Dunstan was born in the year 924-5.

But in view of the consequences, which, it has been pointed out above, must necessarily follow from the adoption of this date, a re-examination of the question is obviously called for.

[1] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series), 1874, p. 71.

[2] *Cf.* William of Malmesbury, in the *Memorials*, p. 253. Also the author of the *Historia Ramesiensis* ed. Gale, *Scriptores xv*, 1691, p. 389: and ed. Macray (Rolls Series), 1886, p. 17.

[3] *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti* iii, p. 424 (Lucca edition, iii, p. 393).

[4] *History and antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, 1845, vol. ii, p. 269.

[5] *Memorials*, p. lxxiv.

The materials that bear on the question of the birth-date consist first of the two almost contemporary biographies by the priest B. and by Adelard; next of statements in two of the six texts of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle and in an Anglo-Saxon calendar adduced by Dr. Stubbs; thirdly of the Lives by Osbern and by Eadmer, both monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, who both wrote towards the close of the eleventh century.

The foregoing give us the only direct evidence we possess as to the birth-date and any statement we can make must depend on the nature and value of their testimony. The later lives and the references in Florence of Worcester's *Chronicon* and in about a dozen other writers add nothing material to our knowledge.

Of the early Lives the first, written by the priest B., who was a personal friend of St. Dunstan and who wrote between 996 and 1004, that is between eight and sixteen years after the saint's death, makes only indirect reference to his birth. The text runs, 'Hujus [i.e. Athelstani] igitur imperii temporibus, oritur puer strenuus in Westsaxonum finibus. . . Quem pii parentes sacri baptismatis undis renatum Dunstanum vocaverunt.'[1] Taken by itself this is obviously ambiguous. The word 'oritur' *may* refer either to his birth or to his attraction of public attention.[2]

The next life, by Adelard, a monk of Mont Blandin near Ghent, was written about twenty-three years after St. Dunstan's death and does not refer to the time of his birth at all. But it is definitely stated that he was introduced by his uncle, Archbishop Athelm, to king Æthelstan, 'quem sacra unctione livit.'[3] This last statement, however, raises the difficult questions as to the chronology of Athelm into which it is not now necessary to enter, because they do not concern the present discussion.

These two lives were written while the contemporaries of St. Dunstan were still living; the next was composed under other circumstances and in a quite different atmosphere. It was written after the Conquest and seemingly late in the eleventh century,[4]

[1] *Memorials*, p. 6.

[2] Strict linguistic usage would perhaps be opposed to the former alternative. 'Oritur' generally implies either 'origin' or 'appearance' rather than mere physical 'birth'. And surely 'puer strenuus' can hardly mean 'a sturdy baby-boy'.

[3] *Memorials*, pp. 55-56.

[4] *Memorials*, p. 151, note 2.

by Osbern, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, and biographer of the saints whose relics were preserved in the church of his monastic home. In his life of Dunstan he makes three distinct statements bearing on the date of the saint's birth, and it is worthy of notice that they are quite irreconcilable with one another. The first says, 'Regnante magnifico Anglorum rege Athelstano, anno quidem imperii ejus primo, adventus vero Anglorum in Britanniam quadringentesimo nonagesimo septimo, . . . natus est puer Dei Dunstanus.'[1] The second and third statements occur together in the same passage, which runs as follows, 'Anno igitur Verbi Incarnati duodecim minus a millesimo, adventus Anglorum in Britanniam quingentesimo sexagesimo tertio . . . Dunstanus . . . diem aeternam aeternaliter possidet, anno patriarchatus sui tricesimo tertio, nativitatis etiam circiter septuagesimo.'[2]

Now from other sources we know that the first year of king Æthelstan was 924-5. But if St. Dunstan died in 988, in 'about the 70th year of his life', he must have been born about 918. Again if 988 is the 563rd year since the Angles came to Britain, that event would have occurred in 425. But the 497th year after 425 is 922. Moreover, St. Dunstan became archbishop of Canterbury probably in the year 959. So the '33rd year of his patriarchate' brings us at least to 992 instead of to 988. In any case, which of the three years 918, 922 and 924-5 did Osbern mean? They cannot all be correct, yet they are all stated with equal decisiveness and precision, and two of them depend on a probably inaccurate calculation of the date of the coming of the Angles into Britain.

Osbern, therefore, cannot be relied on as an authority for the birth-date of St. Dunstan, and on his statements depend those of his imitators.

The next biographer, Eadmer,[3] although professedly writing to correct Osbern's inaccuracies and although a monk of the same house, significantly enough makes no reference whatever to the birth-date or to any of his fellow-monk's attempts at chronology. It is clear enough that, even at that date, he could not understand it or give it any coherence.

William of Malmesbury,[4] John Capgrave,[5] and the rest

[1] *Memorials*, p. 71. [2] *Ibid.* p. 120. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 165-6. [4] *Ibid.* p. 253. [5] *Ibid.* p. 325.

simply copy Osbern's first statement as to the year of birth, though William of Malmesbury does make some attempt to make the death-date harmonize therewith. Florence of Worcester[1] merely transcribes the ambiguous sentence of the priest B.

From the preceding it has become clear that Bishop Stubbs' assertion that 'all our authorities agree in referring the word [oritur] to Dunstan's birth',[2] is a mere hasty assumption and has no foundation in fact. For only two authors, B. and Florence of Worcester, use the word at all; of these, Florence of Worcester copies his whole sentence from B., and B. very probably does not mean to refer to the birth-date at all.[3]

It is, therefore necessary to do what Bishop Stubbs has neglected to do, viz. see what value is to be attached to the statements of the 'two MSS. of the Chronicle', which he says Osbern follows,[4] and of the 'ancient Anglo-Saxon Paschal Table' which he produces in support of his own calculations.[5]

As these authorities appear in print all three seem to state quite definitely that St. Dunstan was *born* in the year 925.

The passages in the two texts of the edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle by Mr. Benjamin Thorpe, in the *Rolls Series*[6] are as follows:—

Text A. [*C.C.C.C.* 173.]
An. DCCCC.XXV. Her Eadweard cing forþferde · ⁊ Æþelstan his sunu feng to rice. ⁊ Sċe Dunstan wearð akaenned · [⁊ Wulfelm feng to þan arcebiscoprice on Cantuarebyri.]

Text F. [*Cott: Domit: A.* viii.]
An. DCCCC.XXV. Her Eadward cing forþferde · ⁊ Æðestanus his sunu feng to rice. ⁊ Wulfelm wearþ gehadod to arb. to Cantw. · ⁊ S. Dunstan wearþ geboren.

The chronicle-entry in the Paschal calendar is thus given by Bishop Stubbs:—

'This computation' [i.e. that St. Dunstan was born in 925] 'is borne out by an entry in an ancient Anglo-Saxon Paschal

[1] *Flor. Wig. Chronicon*, ed. B. Thorpe; 1848; vol. i. p. 130.
[2] *Memorials*, p. lxxiij.
[3] Cf. note 2 on p. 135 above.
[4] *Memorials*, p. lxxiij.
[5] *Ibid.* p. lxxiv.
[6] *Rolls Series*, 2 vols; 1861; pp. 196-199. The plan, adopted in this edition, of printing the six texts in parallel columns is the only one that makes them readily intelligible. Thorpe does not give the text either of A or of F. quite correctly.

Table, preserved in the Cotton MS., Caligula A. 15, under the year 925, "on thison geare waes sce Dunstan geboren."'[1]

Here, then, are apparently three concurrent testimonies supporting Osbern's first statement, and throwing some light on the obscurity of the priest B. It is now necessary to examine each of these testimonies as they stand in the MSS.

The original MS. of Text A. is about contemporary with St. Dunstan. Most of the editors of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, especially those of more recent times, have marked nearly all the passages relating to St. Dunstan before A. D. 959 as 'later insertions' into that text. With regard to the authenticity of the entry under A. D. 925, relating to St. Dunstan's birth, the various modern editors deal with the case thus:—

The editor in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (1848) encloses the Dunstan and Wulfelm entries in square brackets, but notes that though the Dunstan entry forms part of the authentic text of F. it is 'inserted in A.';

Thorpe (1861), as seen above, admits the entry as to Saint Dunstan into the authentic text of A., but encloses the immediately subsequent entry as to Wulfelm in square brackets as a 'later insertion';

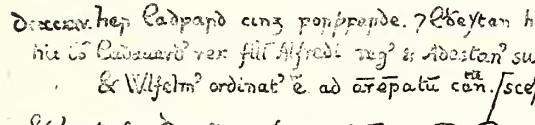
Earle (1865) prints *both* these entries within square brackets as 'inserted by a later hand';

Mr. Plummer (1892) prints both the Dunstan and the Wulfelm entries as later insertions, and holds that most of the interpolations into A. during this period are due to the scribe of F. (as to whose date see below). He, however, distinguishes between those two entries, and considers that the Wulfelm entry is in a 'hand of the twelfth century' and the Dunstan entry in a 'good and fairly early hand'.

A further careful examination of Text A. seems to disclose, as Mr. Plummer indicates, three different hands in the entries under A. D. 925. The references to Eadweard and to Æthelstan are in the *original* hand: that to St. Dunstan is in a later hand, probably of the *eleventh* century: whilst that to Wulfelm is in a third hand, probably of the *twelfth* century.

[1] *Memorials*, p. lxxiv. The text of Calig. A. xv has been printed in full by F. Liebermann in his *Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen*; Strassburg, 1879; p. 3.

In regard to Text F. This MS. has perhaps received from the various editors less critical attention than is its due. Yet, for our present purpose, there is much of considerable interest in the entry under A. D. 925. For we note that since passages which are interpolations into A.[1] are to be found in the text of F., and both MSS. belonged to Christ Church, Canterbury, Text F. must be of later origin than the interpolated Text A. Sir T. Duffus Hardy at first considered it to be 'in a hand apparently of the twelfth century'.[2] In a later work he more cautiously assigned it to 'the eleventh or twelfth centuries',[3] whilst Sir. E. M. Thompson and Dr. Warner are inclined to place it at the end of the eleventh century.[4] The text of the passage referring to St. Dunstan's birth has not been printed quite accurately either in the *Monumenta* or by Thorpe. In the original MS. it is *arranged* as follows:[5]



Now, first, it is to be observed that the Anglo-Saxon Wulfelm and Dunstan entries, as well as the Latin Dunstan entry are written in the margins; the two former on the extreme right-hand margin, the third at the foot of the page; and that all are obvious additions. On the other hand, the passages relating to kings Eadward and Æthelstan were entered in the body of the page, and are part of the original script. Secondly, on careful examination of the MS., three different hands can be distinguished: the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin Eadward and Æthelstan entries are in the original hand; the Anglo-Saxon Wulfelm and Dunstan entries and the Latin

[1] E. g. sub 956, 959, 961.

[2] *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. lxxvj.

[3] Descriptive Catalogue (Rolls Series); vol. i, p. 660.

[4] See Mr. Plummer's *Introduction* to vol. ii of his edition, p. xxxvi.

[5] The Anglo-Saxon marginalia, when revived by a chemical re-agent, read quite clearly as given here. Of course it is to be understood that this diagram and those given below are only intended to show the *arrangement* of the entries in the MSS., and are in no sense *facsimiles* thereof.

Wulfelm entry are interpolations by a second hand; the Latin Dunstan entry at the foot of the page is added by yet a third hand. There is an erasure under the words 'hic ob', at the beginning of the last line of the page, in which the scribe who wrote the Anglo-Saxon marginalia has written the Latin version of the part relating to Wulfelm. The script erased was in red ink, and appears to have been a date, of which the figures 'xx' are still decipherable. If we turn the leaf the next page (f. 56 B.) begins with two year-indications on the same line, written thus:—'dcccc[xx]vj.[1] dccccxxvij.', and at this entry of *two* years are to be found the items referring to Gudhfridh and to Wulfelm that appear in only one other MS., and then under the year 927 alone.[2]

In view, then, of the date of even the original script and of the presence of these interpolations, Text F. cannot be relied on as independent evidence of the birth of St. Dunstan, for the information it gives might have been derived from the scribe's fellow-monk of Christ Church, Osbern himself.

There remains only the 'ancient Anglo-Saxon Paschal Table, preserved in the Cotton MS., Caligula A. 15', ff. 132^{b}–133^{a}. This was also a MS. of Christ Church, Canterbury. The Paschal Table stretches across both pages, (f. 132^{b} and f. 133^{a}) and chronicle-notes have been entered in a blank column on the right-hand page a (f. 133^{a}). It *begins* with the year of St. Dunstan's *death*, A. D. 988, and in the blank column on the right-hand page the first chronicle entry is 'Her fordhferde Sce Dunstan arceb.'[4]

Up to A. D. 1076 the ordinary chronicle-notes are all in one hand, and as far as A. D. 1058 are all written *d'un seul jet*. The scribe deals almost exclusively with the succession of Archbishops of Canterbury and their journeys to Rome, and with the accessions of the kings of England. The entry, recording at A. D. 925 the birth of St. Dunstan is not part of the *regular* chronicle-entries[3] and is in a hand *which does not elsewhere appear*. It runs in

[1] The 'xx' in the MS. was omitted and is written in *above* the rest of the text.

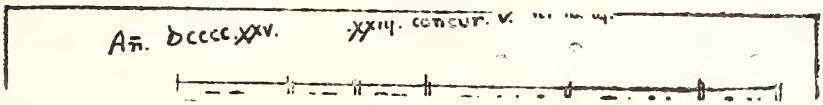
[2] i. e. in Text E. [MS. Bodl. Laud. 636]. In text D. [Cott. Tiber. B. iv.] there is a long list of events ascribed to the year 926 only. Cf. Thorpe; *op. cit.*; vol. i. p. 199.

[3] Liebermann; (*op. cit.* p. 3, note a.) has already pointed out that 'Diese Eintragung steht über dem Schema.'

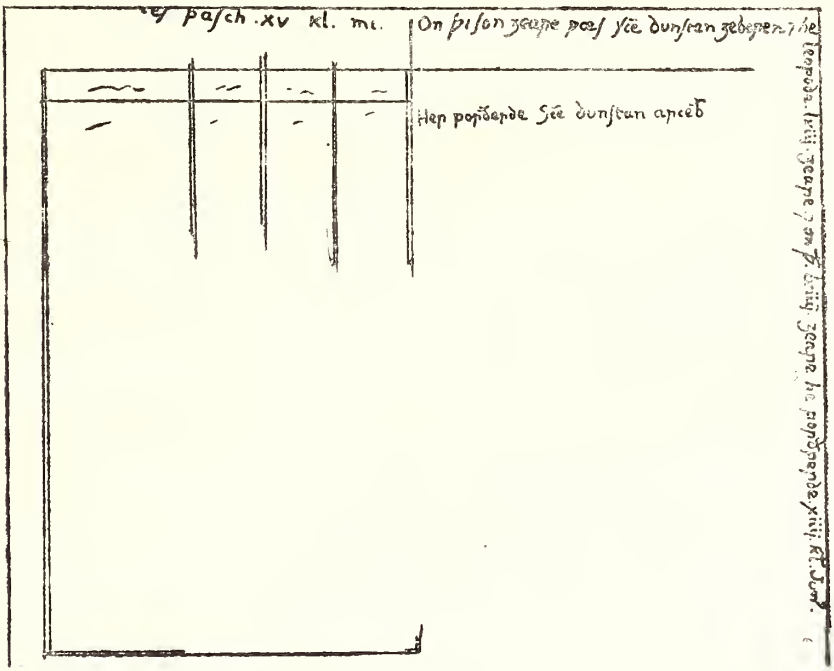
[4] The second word *is* 'fordhferde' as here given. By an oversight, not discovered until the plate had been made, the 'f' was omitted in the diagram.

a curving line along the top margins of ff. 132[b] and 133[a] and straight down the edge of the right-hand margin of f. 133[a], regardless of the symmetry of the book, but following in irregular fashion the arrangement of the calendar columns. Part of the entry has been cut off by the binder; what remains is *arranged* as follows:—

On folio 132[b],



On folio 133[a],



The handwriting of this notice of birth is *about* contemporary with the original hand, i. e. between 1053 and 1076. But the whole entry is obviously a mere jotting, suggested perhaps by the

regular chronicle-notes, but certainly not part of the original scheme. It may have been more immediately suggested by the death-notice which is the first chronicle-note on the page. It is possible that it was made between A. D. 1060 and A. D. 1070, but it is just as possible it may be much later. At any rate it is unlike any other chronicle-note before 1053, is quite obviously an interpolation by some one other than the original scribe, and is made without regard to the character of the original work.

The 'accepted date', then, for St. Dunstan's birth is accepted by modern writers chiefly on the authority of Bishop Stubbs. He found 'the first year of King Æthelstan' first fixed upon in Osbern's *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, and reconciled its preciseness with the vagueness of the priest B. by assuming that both B. and Florence of Worcester meant 'was born' when they wrote 'oritur'; an unwarranted assumption. He sought for further support for his conclusions in 'two MSS. of the Chronicle' and in 'an ancient Anglo-Saxon Paschal Table.'

But, when these last are examined, it is found that all three MSS. proceed from Osbern's monastic home at Christ Church, Canterbury, and that in all three the notices of St. Dunstan's birth are interpolations and no part of the original works in which they appear. Moreover, they date, one at least a century,[1] the others probably a century and a half after the event supposed to be recorded; and these interpolations were made not earlier than the time when Osbern was producing his *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, the first life in which any precise date of birth is indicated. Osbern himself gives three divergent indications of the date of his hero's birth, only one of which agrees with that given unanimously in the three MSS. Finally Eadmer, another monk of Christ Church, known as a professed and careful historian, undertakes the writing of a life of St. Dunstan with the express purpose of correcting the errors of earlier biographers. Yet, though having Osbern particularly in view, he deliberately passes over the whole ques-

[1] i. e. in Text A. It must be remembered how great is the difficulty of assigning even an approximate date to a piece of writing like this interpolation apart from any external indications. It is quite possible that the interpolation into A. may not date from the first half but, like the other two, may have been made in the second half of the eleventh century.

tion of the date of St. Dunstan's birth, which was, as we have seen, recorded in at least three MSS., besides Osbern's treatise,in the library of his own house.

It would seem, then, that the objections to the date 925 as the year of St. Dunstan's birth, expressed by Mabillon and by Lingard for other reasons, find full justification in the very evidence which has been recently adduced in its support. It will appear, therefore, that there are no solid grounds for our acceptance of the year 925 as that of the saint's birth, whilst, as I have already pointed out, it obviously involves us in a tangle of improbabilities. And, high as the authority of Bishop Stubbs justly stands as historian and critic, it is necessary to revise a judgement which has apparently misled later writers and to revert to the view of Mabillon that, 'longe ante hunc annum' [925] 'Dunstanus in lucem editus erat'. When, exactly, he *was* born we have no positive evidence;[1] but, as he was ordained priest before A. D. 940, and by the Canon Law of the period that could not take place till he was at least thirty years old, the presumption is that his birth-date must be placed at least as early as A. D. 910.

One point at least is certain. Unless the view of Bishop Stubbs on this matter be revised, the life of St. Dunstan must remain simply unintelligible to us. If this single difficulty, which is apparently due to the historians and not to the facts, be removed, the story of his life can be seen to be both rational and consistent with itself and with common-sense.

[1] I do not propose to enter into the question, whether the sources of Osbern's statement were the entries in Caligula A. 15, or in Text A. or Text F., or whether any of these may have been due to Osbern himself, or indeed into the relations of these 'sources' to one another. For I am of opinion that these questions can only be dealt with by way of conjecture that cannot be tested or verified. Such discussions must, in the present state of the evidence, end in a confession of ignorance, and can only divert our attention from the one question that is of importance, namely, what is the extent and character of the evidence that St. Dunstan was born in A. D. 925?

LESLIE A. StL. TOKE

ADDENDA

The tract on the calendar of the Bosworth Psalter has grown to be three or four times as long as the simple 'Consultatio' originally designed; and branches out into discussions th t were not contemplated. It is therefore necessarily formless; observations or details really connex are scattered here or there. It is hoped that the Index may in some measure remedy this defect. But there is a deficiency an index cannot make good. Now that the formal conclusion has been drawn in regard to the immediate subject of enquiry 'What is B?', and that the Table of Canterbury calendars is fixed, on looking over the completed tract I feel there might be just cause for exception, on perhaps more than one ground, did I not also make here an essay in dealing with that 'martyrological' element of our Anglo-Saxon calendars which has been more than once pointed to as the key of their history. I would gladly be content to refer to something sufficient already in print; but this is a matter which seems to have escaped the researches of those who have dealt with the antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church: and as I have made some progress in the enquiry for the purpose of the tract printed above, it seems a pity now to leave it to some one else in the future to go through all the same initial drudgery again in investigating this peculiarly dreary (sometimes, indeed, dazing) class of document. The subject will be dealt with here in as brief and statistical a manner as I can command. Such addition is a mere after-thought and has had to be penned, if I may so speak, in a rush; this is not satisfactory; but the need of going over the same ground again and again, as each document was again and again examined in its different aspects, has, I am led to hope, reduced the risk of at least serious error to a minimum.

Moreover, since the greater part of the tract on the calendar of the Bosworth Psalter was in type, Dr. M. R. James has kindly sent full details as to the fragment of calendar in the Eton MS. 78 (see p. 69 n. 1); and both Dr. James and Mr. S. C. Cockerell additional calendars of St. Augustine's. I do not know how to thank them better than by utilizing these communications at once.

The subject-matter of these Addenda will thus be: A. The Martyrological Element in the Anglo-Saxon calendars; B. The Grouping of those of the tenth and eleventh centuries; C. The Calendar of St. Augustine's.

The various martyrologies and calendars referred to are cited under the signs given in the following list. The dates are no more than an approximation.

B = the calendar in the Bosworth Psalter.

Be = Henschen-Papebroch's large type in their edition of the 'Martyrology of Bede', *AA. SS. Boll.* Mar. ii (the print used is that in the *Praefationes* etc. vol. i, Venet. 1749).[1]

D = calendar in Bodl. MS. Digby 63 [end of cent. ix].

Do = calendar in Bodl. MS. Douce 296 [late cent. xi].

G = the Glastonbury calendar in *The Leofric Missal* (Oxf. 1883) pp. 23-34.

Ga = the metrical calendar in Cotton MS. Galba A xviii ('Athelstan's Psalter') ed. in R. T. Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium* I pp. 397-420 [compiled seemingly early cent. x].

Gell = the 'Martyrologium Gellonense' in d'Achery's *Spicilegium*; 1st ed. xiii p. 388 seqq.; 2nd ed. ii p. 25 seqq. [cent. viii.]

J = calendar in Bodl. MS. Junius 29; a greatly abridged calendar used only for characteristic entries ['temp. Athelstani' Wanley].

Ju = calendar in Bodl. MS. Junius 99 [later part of cent. xi].

M H = the Martyrologium Hieronymianum edd. de Rossi and Duchesne, in *AA. SS. Boll.* Nov. II; the three texts cited separately as *Ept* (St. Willibrord's MS.) early viii cent.; *Wiss* of the year 772; *Bern* late cent. viii.

N = calendar in Cotton MS. Nero A ii [? about 1020-30; or earlier?]

O E M = *Old English Martyrology*, ed. Herzberg, E. E. Text Soc. N° 116 [towards latter part of cent. ix].

Oeng = *Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, ed. Whitley Stokes, Henry Bradshaw Soc. vol. xxix [of about A. D. 800.]

R = calendar in the *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Soc. vol. xi [between 1008-1023].

S = calendar in Salisbury cathedral MS. 150 [second half of cent. x].

Sh = calendar of Sherborne in C. C. C. C. MS. 422, 'the Red Book of Derby' [about 1050?].

V = calendar in Cotton MS. Vitellius A xviii [c. 1060-1080?].

W T = calendar of Newminster at Winchester in Cotton MS. Titus D xxvii, in Hampson *op. cit.* i pp. 435-446 [about 1030].

W V = calendar of Winchester cathedral in Cotton MS. Vitellius E xviii; in Hampson *op. cit.* i pp. 422-433 [about middle of cent. xi].

Will = St. Willibrord's calendar in Paris B. N. MS. Lat. 10837 [written in the first years of cent. viii].[2]

[1] Such large type includes the 114 historical notices and also the enlarged series of mere names as found in the second family of MSS. (see Dom Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques*, Paris Lecoffre, 1908, pp. 47-50) with the addition of the seven items detailed *ibid.* p. 692. The exact discrimination between the genuine constituents of the martyrology of Bede and later additions is not, as Dom Quentin says (p. 53), necessary for his purpose; nor, in view of the particular way in which Be is used below, is it necessary here.

[2] My friend M. de Mély sent me for the purpose of the first part of this tract on the Bosworth Calendar a photograph of the MS. which has proved how this kind of reproduction is at times more useful for working purposes than even the original. Of this calendar of St. Willibrord, the most venerable of our English hagiological records, I hope before long to give a print accompanied by some observations on the old Irish copy (seventh century) of M H.

Wo = calendar of Worcester in C. C. C. C. MS. 391 [about 1060-1070?].

Y = the brief York calendar which has hitherto gone under the name of 'Bede's Poetical Martyrology'; the only *edition* by Dom Quentin in *Les Martyrologes historiques*, pp. 123-126 [about A. D. 750].[1]

A. THE MARTYROLOGICAL ELEMENT IN THE ANGLO-SAXON CALENDARS

For the purposes of this enquiry 'martyrological' saints are to be understood as distinguished on the one hand from 'sacramentary' saints (almost all, martyrs) for whom a proper mass (see p. 15) is found in mass-books before the ninth century[2] and on the other from the saints (for the most part confessors) who lived in

[1] It is indeed pleasant to be able to close the list thus; and yet it is impossible to suppress the wish that the identification of this document had been made already long since by one of our fellow-countrymen, so interesting is it as a production, probably when he was a school-boy there, of that school of York so highly vaunted by Alcuin.

The early documents (to my knowledge) wanting in this list are the 'Menologium Anglo-Poeticum' of no importance here, and the St. Edmundsbury calendar in Vatic. MS. Reg. 12 which doubtless is best dealt with separately (in connection probably with Do) in illustration of the calendars of East Anglia and the Fen country. One or two early continental documents must also not be lost sight of. Just as brief Canterbury or Lindisfarne annals carried by our missioners abroad were the starting point of the Carolingian annalistic, so was it too in a measure with English church calendars. The Luxeuil calendar in Paris B. N. MS. Lat. 14086 (formerly Fonds S. Germain lat. 1311; see F. Piper, *Karls d. Grossen Kalendarium und Ostertafel*, Berlin, 1858, p. 60 seqq.) long ago printed by Martène and Durand (*Thes. anecd.* III 1591-1594) has nothing to do with Englishry. But it is otherwise with the 'Calendarium Floriacense' printed by these two Maurists, *Ampl. Coll.* VI 650-652; an ultimate English origin of its substratum is to be recognized I think even among its rare martyrological entries. But this document has not been used below in order not to mix up English hagiological sources that are certain with doubtful ones. It may be as well to add a word as to our three earlier western calendars, Will, Y, and that of Luxeuil just mentioned. These are not to be regarded as the starting-point for the history of the mediæval or modern church calendars; nor is Y to be taken as a 'calendar of the church of York' in the eighth century. They are rather to be viewed in the light of the modern birthday book. The real and effectual origins of the church calendar of mediæval times lie in the Sanctorale of the mass-books.

[2] A dissertation is in hand, and well advanced, on the Sanctorale of the early mass books from the seventh century to the eleventh, dealing both with the calendar and the individual prayers of each mass, which it is hoped may prove of service as the beginning of an instrument for effecting a classification into groups and families of the later mediæval missals. Roughly speaking the calendar of 'Sacramentary' saints for our present purpose may be taken as the series of the saints of MS. S of the Appendix (p. 317 seqq.) of Mr. H. A. Wilson's edition of the *Gelasianum*.

the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries. But it is to be remembered that the lines between these three classes of saints can be only roughly drawn; it is for instance probable, almost certain, that some, perhaps most, of the last class (the later confessors) found their way into our old English calendars merely through the martyrologies.

Four calendars will come under particular consideration and in the following order: (*a*)the Glastonbury calendar in the Leofric Missal (G), and those in (*b*) the Salisbury cathedral MS. 150 (S), (*c*) the Bodley MS. Digby 63 (D), and (*d*) the Cotton MS. Nero A II (N), of which last a print will be given below; a few words will be added as to (*e*) the metrical calendar in Athelstan's Psalter Cotton MS. Galba A XVIII.

(*a*) THE GLASTONBURY CALENDAR (G)

This shows 211 'martyrological' items (=names). It naturally occurred to test them first by that vast congeries of martyrs' names the Hieronymian Martyrology (M H) and afterwards examine with the same object the various excerpts or Breviates of that great compilation, and the calendars generally up to the eleventh century, known to me to be in print. As the result one Breviate distinguished itself markedly as compared with the rest (or indeed with the great original compilation M H itself) by the number of items common to it and G, viz. the so-called *Martyrologium Gellonense* (Gell) a compilation of the eighth century. Of the 211 martyrological items of G, 184 are covered by M H, and 191 by Gell; which would leave a residue of 20 items not found in Gell to be accounted for[1]. An account of this residue is given in the footnote.[2] On examination of this list

[1] Those who are acquainted with the ancient martyrologies will at once recognize that figures like this can be only approximately correct; the common corruption or slight variation of names, the frequent shiftings by a day, earlier or later, by the copyist necessitate in such calculations as the present here and there adjustments. All that can be done is to keep exact record of the way in which the figures given have been arrived at. But for a reason that will be obvious I have endeavoured to give the advantage to MH as against Gell.

[2] Residue of G.

1) iv id. Jan. *Pauli pr. herem.*:—not in MH;—in Be, Ga, O E M, Y (and the later calendars generally except J, N). 2) ix k. Feb. *et trium puerorum* (companions of Babillus):—in MH;—in B, Be, Ga, Ju, Oeng, R, S, Sh, WV. 3) xi k. Mar. *Policroni ep. et m.*:—a 'Policronus' at xiii k. in *Ept* (only);—in N at xi k 'Pollicarpi'. 4) iii id. Mar. Cyriaci diac.:—not in M H;—in Wo. 5) v id. Apr. *Transitus Mariae Ægyptiacae*:—not in MH;—in D, Ju, R, S, Sh, Wo. 6) ii k. Maii *et Sophiae*:—not in M H;—in no other English calendar. 7) iii k. Jun. Felicis pp.:—not in M H;—in B, Do, Ju, R, S, V, Wo, N ? (see *Lib. Pontif.* ed Duchesne I, 154 n. 4). 8) iii non. Jun. *Herasmi*:—in M H *Ept* 'Erasmi'; *Wiss*, *Bern* 'Nerasmi';—in Will ('Erasmi mar.'), B. 9) non. Jul. *Marinae v.*:—in *Ept* (only);—in B, Do, Ju, N, OEM, R. 10) id. Jul. *et Florentii*:—in M H;—in Ga. 11) xv k. Aug. *Margaretae* a 'modern' cult, which early gained popularity in England:—at 13 k. in B, Do.

of twenty items it will appear that only five (or perhaps six) are found in M H, whilst two occur in *Ept* (St. Willibrord's manuscript) only, but that several are found in one or other of our own earliest hagiographical records (Be, Ga, O E M, Oeng, Will, Y; or not infrequently N which although of late date is among the most archaic of the pre-Conquest calendars). We thus seem to get a glimpse of a possible insular tradition independent of the continental texts of M H, in addition to those Campanian elements special to *Ept* so conveniently brought into prominence by Mgr. Duchesne in the *Prolegomena* to M H p. ix.

(*b*) THE CALENDAR OF SALISBURY MS. 150 (S)

On perusing this calendar we are at once struck by the dissimilarity of its set of martyrological items from that of G; of the 179 in S. 45 only are found in G. And yet the two documents seemingly have their origin in the same region—South Somerset and North Dorset or South Wilts—and were drawn up in places not many miles distant from each other. They make quite a different start at 2 and 3 January: G with 'Isidori,[1] Macharii, Genovefae'; S with 'Sindani,[1] Antheri, Genovefae'. Of the martyrologies or calendars that have like S 'Sindani, Antheri', the so-called 'Libellus annalis domni Bedae presbyteri' (edited by Martène and Durand *Thes. anecd.* III 637 seqq. from a St. Maximin's MS.), seemingly a Treves compilation of the early years of the ninth century, covers, so far as I can find, a larger number of the items in S than any other, viz. 74, thus leaving a residue of 105 unaccounted for. But when S is confronted with the Breviate Gell this latter is found to cover 122 items whilst the full M H covers but 116. This raises a presumption that, different as S and G are in appearance so far as their martyrological element is concerned, both may really derive from the same source, viz. the Breviate Gell.

Ju, R, S, V, Wo. 12) vi id. Aug. *Affrae*:—at viii id. in M H and in *Ept* and *Bern* at vii id. also;—in OEM. 13) x k. Oct. 6666 companions of Maurice:—so M H *Ept* and *Bern*, and N; 6585 *Wiss*; 5585 Gell; 6600 OEM; 666 B and S. 14) iii non. Oct. *Cristinae v.*:—not in M H; in D ('ini'), Ju, N, R, S, Sh. 15) iii non. Oct. *et Sauinae*:—not in M H; in no other English calendar. 16) xii k. Nov. *Hilarionis anachor.*:—not in M H;—in B, D, Do, Ga, Ju, N, OEM, S, WT, WV. 17) ii non. Nov. *Perpetue v.*:—[? as to M H—the name undistinguished in a list];—Oeng ('conjux Petri');—in B, D, N, S, Sh, V. 18) non. Nov, *Felicis*:—not in M H;—'Felix prb. et Euseb. mon.' Be; 'Euseb. mon.' Ga; 'Felicis et Eusebii' N, S. 20) non. Dec. *Delfini*:—not in M H;—in B.

[1] These are both corruptions. The genuine reading, 'Antiochiae Syriae Doni', is preserved in one MS. only (Vat. Reg. 435, de Rossi's MS. N°. 35; see *Prolegom.* p. xxxvi). In *Ept* this becomes 'isiridoni', in *Wiss* and *Bern* 'siridoni'. That common pitfall to continental scribes in the eighth century, the insular 'r', is the *causa causans* of both the 'Sindanus' and 'Isidore' of the martyrologies and calendars. At a much later date the same operating cause, this time at the hands of an insular scribe, produces in S at 1 Nov. 'cerani mar.' (i.e. the 'sacramentary' saint 'cesarius').

A detailed scrutiny of the 57 martyrological items of S not found in Gell results ing reatly diminishing, if not wholly removing, any difficulty in this respect. For it is found as follows:

(1) *Nine* items are Nos 1, 2, 5, 7, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17 of the Residue of G examined above (see p. 148 n. 2).

(2) *Eight* are either 'Inventions' etc. not likely to be derived from any ordinary martyrology (22 Apr. Inv. of St. Denis, cf. de Rossi-Duchesne *Prolegom.* p. xv; 7 May, Inv. of the Holy Nails; 8 July Inv. of the body of St. Quintin (cf. Dom Quentin, p. 134); 24 Oct. 'sanctorum conciliorum et aliorum mille'; and '144,000' as the number of the Holy Innocents 28 Dec.); or more or less obvious corruptions (7 June 'Julianus' for 'Lucianus'; 9 June a 'Beatrix' added after Faustinus in imitation of the 'sacramentary' feast of 28 July; 10 Sept. 'Gordiane' for the Gorgonius of the 'sacramentary' feast of 9 Sept.)

(3) The calendar of the Bodl. MS. Digby 63 (D), to be dealt with immediately, must here come into account as a 'source' of martyrological entries in S. *Eight* such items occur in D and S alone among our English documents, and of these eight none are found in Gell and but one in M H. Of the connection, direct or indirect, of S with D there can therefore be no doubt. In addition, *five* items common to D and S, but occurring also in some one or other of our old English calendars probably came like the preceding eight into S from D. These are Nos 1, 9, 11, 12 and 14 of the 'Residue of D', p. 151 n. 2 below.

This would leave 27 items to be examined as the Residue of S, particulars of which are given in the footnote. Many items in the list are found in M H, and in this point the Residue of S stands in contrast to the Residue of G; but if this latter left doubt as to the existence of the 'independent insular tradition' spoken of above, the following examination of the Residue of S will, I think, tend to dispel it. [1]

[1] Residue of S.

1) iv non. Jan. *Sindani* (see above p. 149 n. 1). 2) iii id. Jan. *Salui*:—in M H;—in Be. 3) ix k. Feb. *Sauine*:—in Be ('Sabinae'; in M H a 'Sabin(i)us' at 8 and 7 k. Feb., and 'Sauini' at 7 k. in Gell). 4) vi k. Feb. '*Juliani vir.*';—in M H ('Julianae');—in Ga ('Julianus'). 5) xiii k. Mar. *Siluani*:—in M H at 13 and 12 k.;—in Oeng and Ga at 12 k. 6) v non. Mar. *Floriani*:—in M H;—in Oeng. 7) xv k. Apr. *Timothei*:—in M H;—in Oeng. 8) xii k. Maii *Marcelli*:—not in M H;—in B. 9) vi non. Maii *Athanasii*:—not in M H;—in Be, OEM;—in Ju, WT, WV. 10) kal. Jun, *Teclae v.*:—in M H;—in Will (in a hand later but seemingly of first half of cent. viii), Oeng, Ga (so the MS.; Hampson has 'Tutela'). 11) 6 k. Jul. Salui:—not in M H;—in B (see pp. 36-37 above). 12) 5 k. Jul. *Simphorose cum vii filiis*:—not in M H; (Oeng has 'seven brothers in Rome');—in N. 13) ix k. Aug. *lxxxvi mar*:—in M H (lxxxiii; *Ept* reads 'Victoris et alior. lxxxiii'; Ga at this day has 'Victor miles'). 14, 15) iii non. Sept. *Paterni et Feliciani*:—not in M H;—in OEM with 'Aristome' (see the editor's remark p. xi). 16) xi k. Nov. *Flauiani*:—in N (in M H the name occurs at ix and viii k.). 17, 18) x k. Nov. *Crisanti et Darie.* 19, 20) iii k. Nov. '*sce Maxime et Nicomedis*'. 21, 22) non. Nov. *Felicis et Eusebii*: —both at viii id. in M H *Ept* and *Wiss*, and in Bern 'Felix' only;—in Be 'Felix prb. Euseb. mon.', in Ga 'Euseb. mon.', in

(*c*) THE CALENDAR OF BODLEIAN MS. DIGBY 63 (D)

It is unnecessary at this point to consider the place or time in which this calendar had its origin. It is enough to say that the actual manuscript seems of a date earlier by at least two generations than that of the calendar in Salisbury MS. 150. The 'martyrological' element alone of D concerns us at present. This consists of 88 items; 57 of them are found in the Breviate Gell but only 50 in the great original compilation M H.

Of the 31 items not in Gell

(1) *Six* are Nos 1, 2, 5, 14, 16, 17 of the Residue of G (see p. 148 note 2. above).

(2) The following are the *eight* items mentioned above as occurring in D and S alone among our English documents, and (with one exception as regards M H) neither in M H nor Gell:

v id. Mar. 'Gurdiani m.' (perhaps a corruption of 'Gorgonius' in M H and Gell at vi id.);
ii id. Mar. Hilarii;
10 k. Apr. Albini;
ii id. Jul. Dionisi et Hilarii;
xvi k. Aug. 'Mariae v.' ('Marine' S);
xvii k. Nov. cclxx M (this is the item in M H);
and xv k. Nov. Justiniane.[1]

This leaves 17 items to be accounted for as the Residue of D. On examination the list given below[2] will be found only to confirm what has been said above

N as S. 23) xvii k. Dec. *Donati*:—in M H. 24) xi k. Dec. *Felicitatis m.*:—in M H at 16, 15, 9 k. (Felicitas is with Clement, a 'sacramentary' saint at ix k. Nov.; in M H, and in Oeng, Clement, but without Felicitas, is given at xi k. as well as at the true date ix k.). 25) xiv k. Jan. *Secundi*:—in M H *Ept* and *Wiss* (not in *Bern*). 26) xiii k. Jan. *Ignatii ep. et m*:—in *Ept* (only) 'rom. depos. Zephirini epi et ignati mar.';—in Oeng, Sh. 27) x k. Jan. *Urbani*:—in M H.

[1] This full entry is 'iusti et iustiniane'; in S the second name is somewhat indistinctly given, but with D before us there can be no doubt what is meant, though it is possible the compiler of S may have had also before him at this point the entry 'Justi mart. Januarii' as in Gell.

[2] Residue of D.

1, 2) vi k. Feb. *Saturnini et aliorum xxx*:—not in M H;—in N (but 'xxii'), S ('Saturnini' only.) 3) iv k. Feb. *Sauine v.*:—not in M H;—'Sabine' at v k. in N. 4) iv id. Feb. *et aliorum xxx* (added to 'Alexandri, Ammonis'):—this can come seemingly only from a text of MH that is like *Ept*. 5) xvii k. Apr. *Ciriaci*:—in M H (in *Wiss* and *Bern* 'iacae');—in Be, Ga. 6, 7) xvi k. Apr. '*Pancrati*' and kal. Apr. '*Venati*':—I cannot find either ('Pancrati' is probably a misreading for 'Patrici' which D by mistake gives at xvii k. Apr.) 8) xii k. Maii *Petri diaconi*:—in M H at 15 k (so too in Oeng, G, Wo);—in Ju, R. 9) xvii k. Jun. *Eugeniae*:—not in M H;—in B, Ju, N, S, Sh, Wo. 10) xiv k, Aug. *Cristine v.*:—in the Saint Gall MS. 915 of Gell (see M H edd. de R. and Duch. p. 93);—in Oeng, Ju, R.

in regard to the 'Residues' of the two calendars already reviewed, and as to evidence of an early and independent insular hagiological tradition.

(*a*) THE CALENDAR IN COTTON MS. NERO D II

As this calendar will be printed below detail may be spared here. But it is well to observe at once that, though of the eleventh century, it is full of archaisms and frequently associates itself (as the foregoing lists of 'Residues' shew) with the group above described as forming our earliest extant hagiological records. This is easily explained. It comes not merely from the most remote but from the most Celtic, backward, part of the country—the furthermost Wessex; and gives probably the type of calendar existing in Devonshire before Leofric, with his foreign education, took the Church of these parts in hand. And I see no sufficient reason for assigning it to that yet more Celtic land west of the Tamar —Cornwall. Even the Glastonbury calendar (G) shews an advance in modernity and polish over S; but the calendar in the Nero MS. is of the old world indeed. Moreover, from the mere statistical point of view it differentiates itself also from G, S, D; its 'martyrological' items are 138 in number, but of these only 68, that is less than half, are found in Gell, and in M H hardly more, 72; thus leaving (on our usual basis of Gell) 70 items to be accounted for. The print given below will afford means for further investigation to any one to whom such matters may appeal; but there are at all events two items to which attention ought to be called here. They occur in N only among our English documents and in the Epternach (St. Willibrord's) MS. of MH and its accompanying calendar (Will). These items are: ii id. Feb. 'Castrenensis m.' (at iii id Feb. in *Ept* 'in vulturno castrensis'; in Will 'castrensi mar'), and iii k. Nov. 'Maximiani' (in *Ept* 'in comsa maximi'). Both belong to those Campanian items to which Duchesne (*Prolegom.* p. ix) has called attention as special to *Ept.* But the Epternach Martyrology, with its accompanying calendar, is the most ancient and venerable monument of our English hagiological tradition, in many particulars (and those not merely Campanian) independent of the Gallic. And thus this insignificant looking calendar of the last days of the Anglo-Saxon Church brings us across the centuries into direct touch with those documents and literary stores brought to this island in the seventh century by Benet Biscop and by Hadrian, a notable survival whereof is that Neapolitan calendar or Gospel Capitular of the seventh century which now

11) xi k. Aug. Marie Magdalene:—not in M H;—in Be, Ga, OEM, Oeng; and in all the later English calendars except B, G, N (and Wo?) 12) vii k. Oct. *Firmini*:—not in M H;—in Ju, N, R, S. 13) vi k. Oct. *Cipriani*:—not in M H;—in Be and N 'Cypr. et Justinae'; in OEM 'Justina and Cypr.'; in Ga 'Justina' only. 14) iii id. Oct. *Anastasii ep.*:—in M H and Gell as 'Athanasius' (of Alexandria) but *Ept* reads 'Anathasi';—in N 'Anastati', in S 'Anastasii.' 15) xvi k. Nov. *Florenci ep.*:—(a 'Florentius' in M H and Gell at vi k.) 16) xvi k. Jan. *Ignatii ep. et m.*:—not in M H;—in Be, Ga, N, V, (and in the 'Calendarium Floriacense', see above p. 147 n. 1) 17) x k. Jan. *Victorice* (corr. '*ie*'):—not in M H;—in Be ('Victoriae').

many years since I identified, fixed in its place among our earliest ecclesiastical memorials, and handed to Dom Morin for publication.

(*e*) THE METRICAL CALENDAR OF ATHELSTAN'S PSALTER (Ga)

It would not be proper to close this survey without mention of Ga, though so different in character from the calendars hitherto reviewed. Its set of martyrological items, (including the variants in the Julius MS.) 237 in number, differs from those of G and S as much as the sets of these two differ from each other. And the origin of this metrical composition distinguishes it from G, S, D, N, no less than does its form; the intervention of an Irish hand in its compilation is unmistakable (see above p. 51 n. 2).[1] Still even in Ga, Gell cover 168 items; but MH as many as 191.

Thus much for facts and figures. What do they mean? What are we to think of it all? And in particular, as to the suggested importation of the document Gell into England:—does this get countenance, find confirmation, from elsewhere; say, from another set of facts?

To understand the combination in the English calendars of the tenth century of a 'sacramentary' element with a very large, indeed decidedly predominant, 'martyrological' element, we must, I think, once more go up higher and, in this case, start from the last point at which we can take our stand on the firm ground of contemporary manuscripts; that is, as far up as the later years of the seventh century. We there find ourselves in presence of two quite distinct methods of practice, two different systems. If we take up a Roman book—the *Gelasianum*—we find a complete cycle of proper masses for saints (p. 15 above) extending over the year; a regular and duly developed Sanctorale. The Gallican books shew quite another system. The fullest and most important, the *Missale Gothicum*, has indeed some five and twenty such masses; but the value and meaning of this Sanctorale appears only on analysis. When deduction is made of masses of older feasts of apostles etc. (like those of the three days after Christmas) and feasts of recent institution (Assumption, Peter's Chair, Leodegar of Autun, etc.), the residue is made up of nine masses of feasts of peculiarly Roman attachment (among them the modern, and specifically Gregorian, John before the Latin Gate); and but five that can be in any sense termed local 'Gallican'. This number of five includes the commonly revered Martin, Saturninus of Toulouse (not improbably suggested here by the 'sacramentary' feast of the Roman Saturninus of the same day 28 Nov.); then there is Eulalia, a Spanish importation; and finally Symphorian, and Ferreol et Ferrucio, that is the great local feast of each of the

[1] There would seem to be even some indication that the martyrology of Oengus may have been used. The verse for v k. Apr. reads '*Exultat* Maria quinis comptaque kalendis'; Oengus's verse for this day, as translated by Dr. Whitley Stokes runs 'May she call us &c. &c. may Mary *magnify* us, the great Magdalena'. The 28th of March of course is no common feast-day for St. Mary Magdalen. Its origin (so far as Oengus is concerned) probably lies in this item found only in *Ept*: 'It. cessar. mariae'.

two great churches of the northern part of the Burgundian kingdom, Autun and Besançon; one feast apiece. This state of the case seems to suggest that the idea itself of a regular Sanctorale in a mass book was not native but borrowed from the model of Rome. And the notion that thus suggests itself seems to find confirmation in what survives of other manuscripts of liturgy, of the same or an earlier date, that are of pure Gallic origin,—the *Richenoviense*, the *Missale Gallicanum* and the *Missale Francorum*. Each of these has a single proper mass of a saint; the first and second, of St. Germanus of Auxerre, the third of St. Hilary of Poitiers.

But if proper masses for saints are sparingly represented in Gallican books, it is in these that the system of 'common' masses for saints is developed. The *Missale Gothicum* has a set of such 'common' formulae consisting of three for one martyr, three for many martyrs, one for a confessor, one for many confessors; whilst the *Missale Bobiense* (commonly designated *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*)—a manuscript seemingly of a slightly earlier date and in this particular a valid witness of Gallican practice—shews still further precision in its set of 'common' masses for saints: one formula each for apostles, many martyrs, one martyr, a confessor, a virgin.

Our next witness is that vast Gallican compilation which has been variously named, but which I should prefer to call simply '*Gelas. saec. viii*', to distinguish it from both the pure Roman *Gelasianum* not now forthcoming, and the form, shewing large interpolations made in Gaul in the course of the seventh century, in which the *Gelasianum* appears in print.[1] So far as proper masses for saints are concerned the compiler dealt with them in this way: he adopted in its entirety the series of such masses found in the *Gelasianum* as already enlarged by interpolations in Gaul before the end of the seventh century; then intercalated at the proper dates special masses for the saints in the *Gregorianum* not already feasted in the *Gelasianum*; and finally added masses for about a score of new saints' feasts on his own account. His new great Sanctorale thus came to comprise some 130 proper masses; and it has influenced all the missals of the later mediæval period. But in spite of this richness he did not throw over the 'common' masses; on the contrary he developed the system of 'commons' still further, and provided a common mass for vigil of a saint's feast, for one martyr, for one confessor, for virgins, for many saints, for many martyrs.

Charlemagne, by the imposition or propagation in his states of the *Gregorianum* towards the end of the eighth century, in this matter as in nearly every work he undertook or measure he adopted, designed to regularize the situation, with the effect sooner or later of bringing some settled order into matters hitherto, let us say, free. The *Gregorianum* possessed no such thing as a 'Common of Saints'. This Alcuin provided in his *Supplement* Nos. xlix-lv in an orderly, methodical, manner —a mass each 'for one', and 'for more than one' apostle, martyr, confessor; but a single mass for the category of virgins, variously entitled in the manuscripts 'in natale virginis' or 'virginum'; and this set of Alcuin's is the kernel of the

[1] As a matter of opinion I am disposed to place the origin of the *Gelas. saec. viii* at about A. D. 750-760 and so to bring it into connection with the Romanizing movement of the time of Pippin. There are considerable difficulties in the way of placing it much earlier or much later.

'*Commune Sanctorum*' or body of 'Common' masses of saints, of the present Roman Missal.

But these sets—ever growing sets—of a 'Common of Saints' in Gaul—what do they mean; that is, mean for practice? Clearly they must have been designed for use not for mere redundancy. They imply the existence of a 'calendar' of some sort different and distinct not merely from that supplied by the few proper masses of the *Missale Gothicum*, but also from the calendar afforded by the grand series in *Gelas. saec. viii.*

What saints were they for whom the 'Commune Sanctorum' elaborated in Gaul was devised? The answer, I think, is not far to seek. Of the half a dozen manuscripts (mostly imperfect) that preserve to us the short-lived, if decisively important, *Gelas. saec. viii*, three contain an item proper to inform us in this matter, viz. the Gellone Sacramentary (Delisle's No. vii), the Rheinau MS. 30 (Delisle's No. ix), and the now lost Rheims MS. of the priest Godelgaudus (Delisle's No. xii). Each of these manuscripts contained a 'brief' martyrology; and that in the first-named is the Breviate of M H so often cited above as 'Gell'. These three martyrologies represent three different types of the same 'calendar beyond the Sanctorale' which called forth a regular and developed *Commune Sanctorum* as found in the Gallic books of the seventh and eighth centuries. The 'Martyrologium Gellonense' although a Breviate of M H is an ample one; the '*martyrologium anni circuli*' of the Rheinau MS. (printed in Delisle, *Appendice* No. i) is little more than a mere calendar after the modern manner; the Rheims martyrology of Godelgaudus seems to follow a middle line between the other two.[1]

We may now from the facts adduced conclude; and this conclusion is, I think, safe. The 'Common of Saints' was designed to enable a priest to say on every or any day not 'privileged'—that is not provided with a mass otherwise, and not in Lent doubtless or other such times—a mass in honour of a saint at choice. In a word, there existed commonly in practice in Gaul (but not in Rome) the same sort of practice that *de facto* exists under the Roman rite at the present day, with its repetition of the same 'common' masses of saints, day after day and over and over again. The difference in the two cases lies in this—that in the former case choice by the priest of the saint in whose honour he should say such 'common' mass was free, now it is fixed by the Ordo.

The direction really, if not at once evidently, given by the liturgical reforms of Charlemagne to the evolution of the Church Calendar, is of course variously felt and evidenced in different churches according to the more conservative or more innovating mind of the local clergy. For instance, the calendar of a sacramentary of Senlis assigned by Delisle (No. xxxii; printed *Appendice* No. ii) to about

[1] As stated in the text the Rheims MS. is now lost; but a comparison of the document printed by Canon Ulysse Chevalier (*Bibliothèque Liturgique* vol vii, Paris, Picard, 1900, pp. 1-22) from a copy of the seventeenth century with the extracts given by Ménard (who knew the original MS.) in the Notes to his 'Gregorian Sacramentary' leaves no doubt that it is the martyrology of Godelgaudus of the last years of the eighth century; there are, however, clear indications that the late copyist was tired of this dull series of unknown names and left out some—or many?

the year 880, although by its form it seems to emphasize its martyrological character, shews the 'martyrological' element, as compared with the 'sacramentary' and local, as quite subordinate, and the document is already a mere calendar after the modern type.[1] On the other hand the calendar of the sacramentary of St. Vaast that goes under the name of Ratoldus of Corbie (Delisle No. LVI, printed *Appendice* No. v) seemingly of about the third quarter of the tenth century shews about the same stage of development as our G and S which are its contemporaries. Some few of the Gregorian Sacramentaries of the ninth century (one of the church of Paris, Ottoboni MS. 313, Delisle No. xxxv; one of the church of Sens, see Delisle No. xliii and the *Prolegom.* to M H, pp. xiv-xv, No. 5) had a martyrology attached in the older style shewn by the manuscripts of *Gelas. sæc. viii.* Did those who used these missals follow the old practice and liberty in regard to masses of saints not provided for by the Sanctorale? The dead record cannot tell its tale. But that that practice lingered long centuries later seems certain; and the evidence for this is the mass-book of the early years of the twelfth century that goes under the name of 'The Drummond Missal' (ed. G. H. Forbes, Burntisland, 1882). I may be pardoned for lingering a moment over this book; there is a pathetic interest in observing the end of things that have outlived their time. Briefly the Drummond Missal shews a few masses for the greatest feasts, the great mysteries, with a very elaborate set of 'common' masses of saints and at the end a 'brief martyrology'. The back-bone of this martyrology is the calendar of the Gregorian Sanctorale with 'sacramentary' additions common at the date when the book was written; there is also a particularly large number of early Roman Pontiffs, with almost at each day one or more Irish saints. This book of the twelfth century comes to us from the more remote and solitary regions of Scotland or of Ireland. What does it mean if not this: that in those far away parts of the country there must have maintained itself, fresh and living still, the manner and system in regard to masses of saints that had prevailed in many a district of Gaul, perhaps through the larger part of the country, five hundred years earlier.

With the explanations given it is, I think, not difficult to see how a document like the *Martyrologium Gellonense* can have been really the basis of that 'martyrological' element of our English calendars of the tenth and eleventh centuries which when examined so readily give evidence of its influence and use. Moreover that this compilation soon obtained a wide circulation appears from the copy in print which has two local entries of a dedication of a church, one of Rebais in the diocese of Meaux in the north, the other at Gellone in the far south, of France. Another copy still extant was made about the end of the eighth century at St. Gall (cod. S. Gall. 914) from the title of which it appears that the compiler of the work, whoever he was, drew his materials 'from the books of the cities of Lyons, Vienne, Autun, and Grenoble'. It was therefore early known as a compilation of note. I see then no reason for not acquiescing in the conclusion to which the evidence of our English calendars seems clearly to point, namely,

[1] The calendar printed by Delisle *Append.* N° IV from an Amiens Sacramentary assigned by him to the second half of the ninth century (his N° XLII) cannot be taken as if a practical church calendar at all.

that it was known and used in England also. It may be asked at what date did a copy of the *Martyrologium Gellonense* come to our shores. The date of the MS. of D seems to indicate that this must at all events have been not later than the closing years of the ninth century. In cases of this kind where we can know nothing, fancy is free; but I should personally be inclined to suppose that this book came to England towards the end of the eighth century or beginning of the ninth, rather than at a later time. Our political historians are apt to slur over the period of the Mercian hegemony and greatness and pass rapidly on to the rising fortunes of Wessex. This may be quite a right course for them; but from other points of view this Mercian period deserves more notice and indeed exact attention than it commonly receives. It is undoubtedly not so attractive as the first half of the eighth century when England was giving to the continent; the Mercian period was rather a time of receiving the good things (such as they were) of others, but it is all the more instructive, perhaps, on that account. Among the things then received I should be disposed to count a copy of the then recent work, the newly made Breviate of M H, compiled from 'the books of the cities of Lyons' etc. that goes under the name of *Martyrologium Gellonense*.

The immediate inducement to write this Addendum on the martyrological element in the Anglo-Saxon calendars has been already mentioned; but the Addendum is also incidentally an attempt to carry out an idea of that master and model of those who would wish to learn—I mean the late G. B. de Rossi: the idea that is suggested in the first chapter of his *Prolegomena* to the Hieronymian Martyrology, section III, entitled 'Kalendaria vel kalendariis similia derivata ex Hieronymianis'. England, as offering a small number of documents but of all ages from the seventh century to the eleventh, is probably the best field in which to begin such an investigation. With similar enquiries made in regard to the early calendars of particular regions in France or Upper Italy we might be able to see more clearly into these matters and into the spread of cults generally;—and so learn too whether the conclusions here arrived at in regard to England are confirmed or have to be modified.[1]

[1] It would have been easy to crowd the preceding pages with testimonies in regard to particular saints from continental calendars of the ninth and tenth centuries. But there was a dissuasive from so doing besides the risk (I am afraid not wholly escaped already) of making it hard to see the wood for the trees. The dissuasive reason is this—that those calendars, although they may shew some of the more curious 'martyrological' items mentioned in the lists of Residue given above, have not behind them in these particulars a genuine and native (continental) tradition, but really derive from that early insular tradition insisted on above which was carried hence by missioners and teachers to the continent in the eighth century. As a 'view' I incline to go further, and say that this insular tradition, yet to be investigated, has to be taken into serious account for the future and further criticism of M H itself. For the purposes of that investigation Dr Whitley Stokes's edition of Oengus for the Henry Bradshaw Society is inestimably useful and valuable. As to the quality of such tradition, or the particular quality of inventiveness which it may evidence, nothing is said here.

B. THE GROUPING OF THE ANGLO-SAXON CALENDARS

The calendar in the Digby MS. 63 (D), as the oldest manuscript, may be taken as the best starting point for the enquiry. Fortunately it gives information, definite and unmistakable, as to its origin. It was stated above (p. 23), and has been exemplified in the Table by Arundel MS. 60, that the greater feasts are in some old English calendars distinguished by a cross. This is so with D. That there may be no uncertainty as to the character of such feasts a list is given in the footnote of the entries thus marked, with the exception of those that have to be particularly considered, namely: 19 Apr. 'Sci Cuthberti conf.'; 24 April 'Sci Wilfridi conf.'; 7 May 'Sci Johannis on beuerlic'; and 5 Aug. 'Sci Oswaldi regis'. One other entry, but not marked with a cross must also be mentioned: 4 Sept. 'Sci Cuthberti'[1].

So far as internal evidence goes, this calendar declares itself to be of northern, probably Yorkshire, origin, and may even possibly have been a calendar of the church of York. The feast of St. Cuthbert at 19 April need cause no difficulty in this respect; it is found in the calendar of the church of York of about A. D. 750 (Y) that has so long gone under the name of 'Bede's Poetical Martyrology' now restored by Dom Quentin to its true position. The entry of 4 Sept. is the

[1] The feasts in D marked with a cross, besides the few mentioned in the text, are: Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, Matthias, Gregory, Benedict (in March), Annunciation, Philip and James, Invention of Holy Cross, Augustine abp., Nativity of St. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, Paul, James ap., Laurence, Assumption, Bartholomew (at 25 Aug.), Beheading of St. John Baptist, Nativity of B. V., Matthew ap., Michael archangel, Simon and Jude, All Saints, Martin, Clement (see pp. 23-24 above), Andrew, Thomas ap., Christmas, Stephen, John ev., Innocents. That the crosses come from the hand that wrote the calendar appears from this: the scribe first entered the feast of St. James ap. at a wrong date, 26 July, and then correcting himself erased this entry and made one at the proper day, the 25th. But the cross written at the original and now erased entry can still be discerned.

It is of some interest to note that the feast of All Saints (1 Nov.) has a cross. The origins of this feast seem to be matter of difficulty to the liturgist and historian of religion (see for instance two recent books, P. Saintyves, *Les Saints successeurs des Dieux*, pp. 81-90; Dom Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques*, pp. 637-641). But from a letter of Alcuin of the year 800 it appears that he was in the habit of keeping the 'solemnitas sanctissima' of All Saints of 1 Nov. (with a previous three days' fast) and knew his friend Arno of Salzburg as interested in its propagation; whilst a Bavarian council over which Arno presided had not long before prescribed for the feast of All Saints of 1 Nov. abstinence from servile work as on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday after Easter and Pentecost, St. Laurence's day and the local feast of the dedication of the church (*M. G. Concil.* II, 197). Our present feast of All Saints had therefore before the close of the eighth century already a history. Whence came it? By way of conjecture I should be disposed to think it was imported into the continent from these islands, that it issued from the same mint as the 'feast of the Saints of Europe', and that the entry in Oengus at 1 Nov. is a local record of its origination.

true northern feast of a translation of St. Cuthbert which this calendar brings back to, at all events, the ninth century. Introduced into the south, perhaps by this very calendar, it did not long maintain its separate existence but by the eleventh century was combined with and merged in a translation of St. Birinus. The affinities of D after it came south are with the west country alone; we have already seen (p 151) its close relationship with S. Whether the MS. Digby 63 was written at Winchester it is for the palæographer to judge; that the calendar was at Winchester already some time in the tenth century appears from the entries in a later hand of the two feasts of St. Swithun at 2 and 15 July; and the deposition of St. Elphege of Winchester is also added at 12 March. But the connection of the MS. otherwise with Winchester, still less its origination there, can receive no countenance from the internal evidence of the calendar itself; and the Winchester calendar, in the earliest form in which we know it, shews no trace whatever of having been influenced by D.

One item marked with a cross deserves particular notice,—the primitive feast of St. Wilfrid on 24 April. This is also the day given in the 'Old English Martyrology', a compilation said to be of the second half of the ninth century and thus about contemporary with our manuscript. In the south this feast had to contend with that of St. Mellitus of Canterbury, which was kept on the same day and is alone recognized in G, B, Sh. The Salisbury MS. and N, both old-fashioned and uninfluential, combined the two traditions. But in the event St. Wilfrid on 24 April fell out of consideration in the calendars, except that of York; which, however, as early as the twelfth century kept the day as a feast of a 'Translation'; and 12 October was universally received as the day of Saint Wilfrid's 'depositio'. But the metrical calendar of the church of York c. 750 (Y) is explicit: 'Quoque die (that is, 24 April) Praesul penetravit Wilfridus alma . . . culmina coeli'. When this record was written there may even have been still living among the clergy of that church men who remembered the receipt of the news there. The 24th of April in 709 fell on a Wednesday; and if St. Wilfrid died in the later part of the day, it is easy to understand how and why 'the abbat' (as recorded by Wilfrid's friend and biographer Eddius in the 'Life' c. 61) regularly said mass for him on Thursdays. The date of St. Wilfrid's death, 24 April, seems quite well authenticated; its assignment to 3 Oct. rests on nothing more than fragile conjecture.

There seems no sufficient evidence to warrant a definite statement as to the influence of D on any other calendar than S[1]. It was incidentally mentioned

[1] D (alone among the English calendars) has at 16 Oct. 'S. Mummolini'. In the later years of the seventh century Mummolinus was bishop of Noyon and Tournay, and thus exercised sway in the country behind the Térouanne region, in company with several saints of which latter his name doubtless came into D. The following list of the group of saints of the Térouanne region in D will shew how here too S is influenced by D, whilst this cannot be said of the Winchester calendar.

6 Feb. Dep. Amandi et Vedasti	In WV, WT, S, and commonly.
7 June Transl. Audomari	In WV, and S, Ju, R, N (at 6 June).
16 July Transl. Bertini	In S only.

above (p. 38 n. 1) that when the calendar in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges (R) is examined as a whole its affinities are found to be with the west-country group. To this group—which distinguishes itself on the one hand from the group G, B, Sh, (cf. p. 61 n. 1), and from the Winchester calendar on the other—attention must now be directed. With its disconcerting variety of peculiarly local feasts—St. Cuthman of Steyning in Sussex, St. John of Beverley, St. Oswald of Worcester (and Ramsey and York) and St. Tibba of the fen-country—R, the oldest member of the group, is not quite an easy document to disentangle until it is analyzed and confronted with the other Anglo-Saxon calendars extant. The simplest and shortest way of evidencing its relationships will be to give a list of its entries that are really peculiar with a mention of all the documents in which each item appears. The list is as follows:

8 Feb. Cuthman cf.—R, Ju, Wo, N.
11 „ Radegund v.—R, Ju, Wo, G.
27 „ Invention of the Head of St. John Baptist—Oeng, OEM, R, Ju ('corporis'), Wo, N.
17 Mar. Witburga *and* Patrick—R, Ju, Wo.
19 „ Joseph, Spouse of the B. V.[1]—Oeng, R, Ju, Wo, the Winchester calendar WV, and Sh.
1 Apr. Barontus monk[2]—R, Ju.
20 Apr. Peter Deacon—D, R, Ju.
24 „ Wilfrid—OEM, D, R, Ju, N, S.
7 May John of Beverley—OEM, D, R, Ju, Wo, N, Do.
9 „ Translation of St. Andrew—R, Ju, N (later hand in V).
21 June Apollonaris *and* Leuthfred—R, Ju.
19 July Cristina v.—OEM, D, R, Ju (? if erased in Wo).

20 „	Nat. Vulmari	In WV, WT, S, and commonly.
5 Sept.	Dep. Bertini abb.	In WV, WT, S, and commonly.
9 „	Audomari	In S, Do.
20 „	Amandi cf.	In S, Sh.
26 Oct.	Nat. Amandi ep.	In S, Ju, R, V.
9 Nov.	Winnoci cf.	In S, Ju, N, V.

It is of no consequence for the present purpose whether the three entries of Amandus may relate to the same person or not.

[1] I cannot trace this back earlier than Oengus and his contemporary, the martyrology in the Rheinau MS. 30 (Delisle, *Mém.* App. No. I). This seems to point to Ireland as the original source of both.

[2] This is I fancy no other than the monk Barontus who in Southern Italy, with his contemporary Fursey in our northern regions, inaugurated that literature of 'Visions' which still pure in Bede not long after his day was used in Mercia for political purposes and was to be thus employed so effectively later in the days of the declining Carolingian house. Though overlooked seemingly by Potthast, the Vision of Barontus was, if I rightly remember, given at least in part by Waitz in the *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum*; that it was known in England in the later Anglo-Saxon times appears from what still remains of the burnt Cotton MS. Otho A XIII.

18 Aug. 'scae elenae reg'—R, Do, (later hand in V), N (19 Aug.).
23 „ Timothy and Apollinaris—R, Ju (later hand in V).
26 Oct. Amandus bp.—D, R, Ju, S, V.
30 „ Ordination of St. Swithun—R, Ju, WV.
4 Dec. Benedict abb.—R, Ju, Wo, N, WT, WV, Do.

I do not feel able to make any suggestion as to the place where, or the particular church (if any) for which, R may have been written. As pointed out p. 59 seqq. the number of Winchester feasts it contains is not satisfactory—still less, cogent—evidence of its connection with Winchester. The utmost that can be said is that it is doubtless the earliest extant example of that wholesale adoption of such feasts which soon became general. It is enough here to have indicated its affinities, which seem evidently to shew that it (that is, a calendar of this type) was at any rate a 'source', directly or indirectly, of the two calendars Ju and Wo that have been commonly assigned to Worcester just before the Conquest.

It is true that these two last named calendars are substantially the same document. But a distinction has to be made between them. That the calendar in C.C.C.C. MS. 391 is a calendar of the church of Worcester in the earlier years of St. Wulstan's episcopate there seems no reason to doubt. But it is otherwise with the calendar of the Bodleian MS. Junius 99. The following lists of the strictly local feasts in these two documents will, I think, at once make clear the church to which Ju is to be assigned.

C.C.C.C. MS. 391	BODLEIAN MS. JUNIUS 99
28 Feb. Oswald abp.	Oswald abp.
15 Apr. Transl. of Oswald abp.	Transl. of Oswald abp.
1 June	Wistan mart.
13 Sept. Egwin bp.	Transl. of Egwin bp.
8 Oct. (an erasure) Translation of Oswald abp.	(added in orig. hand to Transl. of SS. Aidan and Ceolfrid) 'Oswald'.
10 Oct.	Transl. of SS. Egwin and Othulf.
24 Nov.	Odulph abp.
31 Dec.	Deposition of St. Egwin.

The Junius MS. 99 thus at once shows itself to be a calendar of Evesham; for the proof, it is only necessary to refer generally to the documents in Mr. W. D. Macray's edition of the Evesham Chronicle (Rolls Series) and to recall that (as the tract on the Resting Places of English Saints has it) 'St. Egwin the bishop resteth at Evesham'[1] and so is a specifically Evesham (not Worcester) cult. There is here neither time nor space (and doubtless, indeed, there is not call) to enter on a comparison of these two calendars. Two items, however in the Evesham calendar, but not in the Worcester, are too suggestive to be passed over in silence. They are these: 16 May 'Sci Brendani abb.', 17 May 'Sci Torpetis mart.'. Neither occurs in any other of our early English documents. But, singularly

[1] F. Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands* p. 19.

enough, the very 'brief' Martyrology of the Drummond Missal (see above p. 156) has (with two Irish names) at 16 May 'sancti abbatis et confessoris Braendini', and (with two Irish names) at 17 May 'sancti Torpetis martirys' (ed. G. H. Forbes, Calendar p. 15). But is it possible that such a document as the martyrology preserved to us in the Drummond Missal could have found its way to Evesham? That it might easily have come to the neighbourhood of Worcester seems not unlikely. The *Liber Vitae* of the church of Durham preserves one list of a whole community, viz. of the cathedral priory of Worcester, at some time seemingly during the episcopate of bishop Sampson (1096-1112). We at once recognize Hemming, the compiler of the Worcester cartulary, and the chronicler Florence; among the rest[1] there are at all events two Irish names, Columban and Patrick. Is it through one of these that the chronicle of the Irishman Marianus, which our English Florence has made the basis of his own, came to Worcester? If Irish members and an Irish chronicle are found at Worcester, may there not have been Irish members and an Irish martyrology at neighbouring Evesham?

There remain to be considered V and N.[2] V at once distinguishes itself from all other extant Anglo-Saxon calendars by a considerable series of foreign names. It was suggested above (p. 61 n. 1) that it may be a calendar of the church of Wells under bishop Giso the 'Lorrainer'. As the case is of interest it will be well before considering V to give an example of a somewhat similar mode of proceeding on the part of another 'Lorrainer', but a 'Lorrainer' by education only not birth, Giso's neighbour the English-minded Leofric of Exeter.

The following is Leofric's case. Harl. MS. 863 is a psalter of the eleventh century to which is prefixed an Exeter calendar of the later part of the twelfth. A feature of this psalter is a litany (ff. 108^{b}—111^{b}) which from the number of its invocations may be fairly called stupendous. A certain number clearly designate the diocese of Exeter as place of origin.[3] The particular interest of the litany centres, however, in the three last invocations of confessors: 'Sce Leo', 'Sce Bardo', 'Sce Simon'. At a little distance from the name Leo, in rather smaller characters but seemingly in the same ink, is the numeral 'ix'. Bardo is the archbishop of Mainz in 1031-1051 whose cult even in his own region has been quite restricted, local, subordinate. His name in an English litany of the eleventh

[1] The Surtees Society's print of the *Liber Vitae* (p. 14) is at this point unfortunately defective by the omission of twenty-two names (among which Patrick's) and a seeming intrusion of others that do not belong to the Worcester community list (see *Downside Review* IV, 1885, p. 9).

[2] It is curious that though belonging to another part of the country both these calendars seem to have found their way about the end of the eleventh century to the neighbourhood of Worcester. Among numerous entries by a later hand in V are these: 1 Jan. Wistan; 2 Jan. Deposition of Egwin bp. and cf. (on erasure); and 19 Aug. Credan abb. and cf. This can only mean Evesham. The case of N is not so clear; a later hand adds at 30 June 'sci Germani et sci Neoti prbri' and at 31 Dec. 'et sci Eguini epi'.

[3] Confessors: Neote, Maucanne (the Cornish 'Mawgan'); virgins: Sativola, and perhaps Tova, with Welvela and Pinnosa. The last martyr invoked is Olave (see above p. 48 n. 2).

century is a matter as well for enquiry as surprise. Moreover the immediately preceding invocation 'Leo' cannot be of St. Leo I who occurs at the very beginning (the fourth name) of the invocations of confessors. Is the Leo at the end, as the numeral would indicate, really pope Leo IX, whose cultus, if like Bardo's never very famous, began nevertheless very soon after his death? An entry in the calendar of the Leofric Missal (our calendar G), taken in conjunction with the invocation in the litany, seems to leave no room for doubt on this point. At the foot of the fol. 40^{b} (see the Editor's 'Introduction' p. l), which contains the month of April of the calendar, is this entry in a later hand 'et F. sci leonis papae et conf. ix' (*Leofric Missal* p. 26). Pope Leo IX died on 19 April and this is the day of his feast; the *Gelas. saec. viii* feast of St. Leo I is 11 April. If this latter pope had been meant, the entry could easily have been made at 11 April after St. Guthlac. The line of 19 April has not merely the original entry 'Gagi et Rufi' but also a later entry of St. Elphege and (seemingly) a still further entry of the ordination of Leofric himself running in the succeeding line of the 20th. There was thus no room for the entry of 'St. Leo pope and confessor ix' at 19 April and it is obvious why such entry should be at the foot of the page. In the circumstances there seems no reasonable ground for doubt as to the identity of the person meant, in both calendar and litany. It has been concluded (see e.g. *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*) from the tenor of Leofric's letter to Leo IX proposing the transfer of the episcopal see from Crediton to Exeter that they must have been already personally known to each other. This finds confirmation in the two entries just discussed; and in the invocations of SS. Leo IX, Bardo, and Simon[1] of the Exeter litany we may also see record by a grateful mind of incidents of Leofric's early career probably in kindnesses shewn to him when he was a student abroad. However this may be, we need, I think, have no scruple in assigning to bishop Leofric the origin of the psalter Harl. MS. 863; and indeed on yet better grounds than the Collectar Harl. MS. 2963 that now goes by his name.[2]

If cults so remote from English interests or tradition could thus be introduced into his church of Exeter by an Englishman like Leofric on the score of mere personal veneration for contemporaries whom he had in some way known, we may not be surprised if a 'Lorrainer' born and bred gave effective expression to his native preferences in a calendar so abnormal as V. When these personal elements, as we may call them,[3] are removed V becomes a commonplace specimen of the English

[1] Probably the hermit of the Black Gate at Treves.

[2] Any surprise at the specific designation 'ix' in the calendar and litany is lessened when we recall how the use of the successional number of the pope in papal bullae was first introduced it would seem in the very brief pontificate of Leo's immediate predecessor Damasus II (1048) and definitively adopted in that of Leofric's friend Leo IX. And although it may be that Leofric was not 'king's chancellor', he was in quite a good way of knowing something of contemporary papal bullae, and the stress now laid on the reigning pope's number.

[3] The items in question (an uninterestingly miscellaneous series) are: 9 Feb. Ansbert of Rouen; 28 Feb. Romanus abb. of Mont-Jura north of Lyons; 13 May Servatus of Tongres; 23 May Desiderius of Vienne; 11 Aug. Gaugericus of Cambray; 20 Aug. Philibert of Jumièges;

calendar of the time. Of what church was it the calendar? There seem to be two possible indications. At 21 March is the entry in another hand: 'Obitus herimanni episcopi'; this can hardly be other than Herman, bishop successively of Ramsbury, Sherborne, and Sarum, who died in 1075.[1] On the other hand the calendar shews in the original hand one saint of quite local cult, 27 Nov. 'Sci Congari conf.' The liturgical cult of St. Congar seems entirely confined to Somerset.[2] In the circumstances, the probable, perhaps only admissible, conclusion is that in V we have the calendar of the church of Wells under the 'Lorrainer' Giso.

There remains the calendar N. As a print now follows any account of it is unnecessary, and it is sufficient to refer here to what is said above p. 152 and to incidental notices from p. 148 onwards. Any remarks that may seem called for on particular items will be made in footnotes. In regard to its martyrological entries it must be enough here to note that, insufficient as M H or Gell may have proved for the elucidation of that element in N, it certainly does not seem to be drawn from the later historical martyrologies, Ado, Usuard etc. that came so greatly into vogue from the ninth century, nor from a martyrology such as that (cent. xi) still preserved at Exeter.

3 Sept. Remaclus of Stavelot and Mansuetus of Toul; 3 Oct. the (English) Two Ewalds; 8 Oct. Benedicta v. of the region of Laon; 12 Oct. Gangolfus of Varennes in Burgundy; 15 Oct. Lupus bp. (of Angers); 21 Oct. the Eleven Thousand Virgins of Cologne; 23 Oct. Severinus of Cologne; 3 Nov. Hubert of the Ardennes; 12 Nov. (the English) Lebuin of Deventer; 14 Dec. Nicasius of Rheims; 23 Dec. Servulus (a poor man of Rome mentioned by St. Gregory).

[1] Two MSS. of the A. S. Chron. have x kal. Mar. (see Mr. W. G. Searle's *Anglo-Saxon Bishops* etc. p. 85).

[2] In the later middle ages St. Congar is found in the calendar of Bath only, not of Wells, whose speciality was then St. Decuman. The case allows of a probable explanation thus: after the Conquest Bath became the principal church of the see and took (if it had not already) the cult of St. Congar. On the restoration of Wells as the residence of the bishop to its early primacy this church may have preferred a local cult proper to itself leaving Congar to Bath.

COTTON MS. NERO A II

(ff. 3[a]—8[b])

JANUARY

Kal.	Circumcisio Dni	xiii kal. Feb.	sebastiani et Fabiani
iv non.	Isidori . epi	xii „ „	agne . u .
iii „	Genofefe . u .	xi „ „	uincentii . m
viii id.	Epiphania Dni	x „ „	emerentiane . u et m
v „	sci æthelmodi . c[1]	ix „ „	babilli epi et m
ii „	benedicti . abb	viii „ „	Convertio pauli
id.	Ocв . Epiphania	vii „ „	policarpi . m
xix kal. Feb.	Felicis . epi	vi „ „	saturnini . cu*m* xxu . mar
xviii „ „	Calesti pape et mauri abb	v „ „	Sabine . u . [et agnetis . u][2]
xvii „ „	Marcelli pape	iv „ „	Gylde . c[3]
xvi „ „	antoni . monachi	iii „ „	Balthildis . regine
xv „ „	Prisce . u .		
xiv „ „	Marie et marthe		

[1] Unique (this word as used in these notes = an entry not occurring in any other of our English calendars before the Conquest so far as known to me). Mr. W. G. Searle's *Onomasticon* mentions nineteen persons of this name. Probably Æthelmod, bishop of Sherborne c. 772-781 (*op. cit.* p. 43; the same writer's *Bishops* etc. pp. 76, 226) is the saint commemorated. The longer litany in the burnt Cotton MS. Galba A xiv (see p. 56 above) has (fol. 93[b] col. 1 lines 8-10) after Guthlac these three invocations: æthelmod, eatferth, hemma (then: pachomi, 'frontoni', columbane, etc.). The Æthelmod of the litany can be no other than the Æthelmod at v id. Jan. in N (for Eatferth and Hemma see viii k. Jun. and vii k. Nov. below).

[2] Seems in the same hand; but ? added later (in fainter ink).

[3] See iv kal. Oct. below.

FEBRUARY

Kal.	brigide . u	ii id.	Castrenensis . m[2]
iv non.	Purificatione S marie	id.	[Iuliani m][3]
iii „	wærburge . u .	xvi kal. Mar.	ualentini . m
ii „	[an erasure]	xv „ „	Iouite . u .[4]
non.	Agathe . u .	xiv „ „	Iuliane . u . et uitalis . m
vi id.	cuthmanni . c[1]	xiii „ „	Donati . m
v „	Alaxandri .	xii „ „	Martialis
iv „	Scolastice . u .	xi „ „	pollicarpi . epi et m
iii „	Eulalie . u .		

[1] See above p. 160. [2] See above p. 152. [3] Added by a later hand.

[4] Unique: the martyr of Brescia (with Faustinus) at xiiii kal. in M H; at xv kal. in the Reichenau Martyrology Zurich MS. 28 (*Rich*) which has an 'insular' strain (see M. H. p. 21).

FEBRUARY

x kal. Mar. Calesti pape[5]
et Gagii . epi
ix „ „ uictoris . m
viii „ „ Cathedra petri[6]
vii „ „ Milburge . u .
vi kal. Mar. Mathie apli[7]
v „ „ Inuentio capitis pauli
iv „ „ Cipriani
et alaxandri .
iii „ „ Inuentio caput Ioh bap[8]

[5] The name of the cemetery in M H *Wiss* and *Bern* (not in *Epi*) 'in cimiterio Calesti depos. Gagi ep.' taken as the name of a person.

[6] In red. [7] In red; originally 'thei'. [8] In Oengus (p. 63, cf. the Felire p. 78).

MARCH

Kal. Donati . epi . m
et deawig . epi[1]
vi non. Adriani . m
v „ Albini . epi
et felicis
iv „ Uictoris . cu*m* . dccc . mar
iii „ Eusebii .
et saturnini .
viii id. Candide . u .
vii „ xl militu*m*
vi non. martiani
et gorgoni . m
iv id. Gregorii pape[2]
xvii kal. Apr. Eugenie . u .
xvi „ „ patrici . epi
xv „ „ Eadweardi . m
xiv „ „ theodoli epi
xiii „ „ Cuthberhti . epi
xii „ „ Benedicti abb
viii „ „ Adnuntiatio sce Mar.
vii „ „ eulalie . u .

[1] In Sh.; entered by a later hand in the calendar of the Leofric Missal.

[2] In red; and in larger characters.

APRIL

Kal. ualentini . c
iii non. theodocie . u
ii „ ambrosi . epi et c
vi id. machari . psb
v „ uii · uirginu*m* .
iv „ theodori . c
iii „ cuthlaci . c
et leonis
et hilari
id. Eufemie . u .
xviii kal. Maii Tiburti et ualeriani . m
ix „ „ Georgi . m
viii „ „ melliti . epi
et wilfridi epi[1]
vii „ „ letania maiore
v „ „ anastasi . epi
iv „ „ uitalis . m
et cristofori . m
ii „ „ Erconwaldi . epi

[1] See p. 159 above.

MAY

Kal.		philippi et Iacobi .	xiv	kal.	Jun.	potentiane . u .
vi	non.	Inue[1]				et dunstani
v	,,	Inuentio sce crucis	xiii	,,	,,	æthelbrihti . m
ii	,,	Ioh apli ante porta*m*				et nicomedis
		lati[nam]	xi	,,	,,	helene . u .
non.		Ioh epi	x	,,	,,	petrocii . c[4]
viii	id.	uictoris . m	viii	,,	,,	urbani . m .
vii	,,	transl and[re]æ[2]				et hæmma . abb .[5]
vi	,,	Gordiani et epimathi . m	vii	,,	,,	agustini . epi
v	,,	Mamerti . epi				et bede . presb
iv	,,	Nerei et achilei et	vi	,,	,,	Germani . epi
		pancrati . m	iv	,,	,,	Felicis . m et pape .
ii	,,	Machuti.cu*m* . ccccliii . mar[3]	iii	,,	,,	Felicitatis . m .
xvii	kal.	Jun. eugenie . u .	ii	,,	,,	petronelle filia petri .

[1] The entry of the next day seems to have been begun by mistake at vi non.

[2] See p. 160 above. This is a record of the receipt at Milan of the relics used for the dedication of the Basilica at the Porta Romana, a decisive act for the future of the cult of relics in the West (I do not understand Mgr. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* p. 402 n. 1).

[3] 'Machuti' is intended seemingly for 'Maximi' 'Maximini' (see M H and Gell).

[4] Unique.—St. Petrock's day is now 4 June; in England a date spreading probably from Winchester; so too in the Breton calendars. In view of the general character, and probable local origin, of N, this calendar (which knows nothing of the feast of 4 June) may preserve here the original (Cornish) day.

[5] This 'hæmma abbot' of the calendar is doubtless the same person as the 'hemma' of the litany in Cotton MS. Galba A xiv (see note on v id. Jan. above); not in Searle *Onomasticon* (pp. 290-291).

JUNE

Kal.		nicomedis . m	viii	id.	Furtuna
iv	non.	marcelli et petri[1]			et audomari
		et erasmi . m[1]	vii	,,	Pauli
non.		Bonefatii . m et pape .			et fursei[2]
		apollonaris m			

[1] The 'sacramentary' feast of Marcellinus and Peter. Erasmus is at iv non. in Oeng and OEM; at iii non. in G and B.

[2] Unique. I do not find a commemoration of St. Fursey at this day elsewhere. It is difficult to see how any event (e. g. the translation after four years) mentioned in the last two chapters of the early Life (*M. G. SS. rer. Meroving.* III 439-440) can have found (unique) record in such a calendar as N; the date of death (16 Jan.) seems well authenticated, but this feast of 16 Jan. is found only in Oeng, OEM, B, and Do. Possibly the present entry is after all only a corruption of 'Pauli, Fortunati' at this day in M H and Gell.

vi	id.		Medardi et gildardi	xiv	kal.	Jul.	Marci et marcelliani . mar
v	„		primi et feliciani	xiii	„	„	Geruasi et protasi . m
			et collu*m*cylle . c[3]	xi	„		Leodfrithi . epi et c[4]
iii	„		Barnabe . apli	ix	„	„	ætheldrythe . u .
ii	„		basilidis . cirini na-	viii	„	„	Nativitas . ioh
			boris nazari . m	vi	„	„	ioh et pauli
xviii	kal.	Jul.	aniani . epi				et salui[5]
xvii	„	„	Uiti . modesti . et cres-	v	„	„	simforose . cu*m* . uii . filiis
			cente . m	iv	„	„	uig*ilia* .
xvi	„	„	Ciriaci et iuliani . cu*m*				et leonis . pape
			xl . milia	iii	„	„	petri et pauli[6]
xv	„	„	botulfi . epi	ii	„	„	pauli

[3] In Oeng, OEM, Ga, WV.

[4] Is this only St. Leothfridus, Leufroy, abbot? (but see also Leuferth etc. in Searle *Onomasticon* p. 337, *Bishops*, p. 238).

[5] See above pp. 36-37.

[6] A cross at this feast.

JULY

Kal.			Timothei	v	id.		Benedicti abb
			et agapiti .	iii	„		Mildrythe . u .
			oc ioh[1]				et margarete . [u]
vi	non.		processi et martiniani	id.			Cirici . pueri et iulite
iv	„		tra*ns*l sci martini				mat*ris* ei*us*
iii	„		oc aplor	xvi	kal.	Aug.	Kenelmi . m
			et sexburge . u .	viii	„	„	Iacobi . apli
non.			marine . u .	vi	„	„	uii . do[r]mientiu*m*
			et sci ercenwaldi[2]	v	„	„	Saturnini . epi et m
viii	id.		Grimbaldi . c	iv	„	„	Felicis et simplici .
			et quintini	iii	„	„	Abdon et senen . m
vii	„		anatholie . u .	ii	„	„	[Sci germani epi .
vi	„		uii fr*atru*m et felici-				et Sci neoti prbri .][3]
			tatis . m				

[1] The octave of St. John Bapt. in this calendar seems noteworthy; in WV only (Wo in later hand). The Oct. of SS. Peter and Paul just below dates at least from the seventh century.

[2] Unique (B at this day has 'Ethelburga').

[3] In another hand seemingly not earlier than late cent. xi. For Neot see at xiii kal. Nov.

AUGUST

Kal.			Machabeor . uii	viii	id.		Sixti . epi et m
iv	non.		stephani epi et m	iv	„		Sci Laurenti . m
iii	„		Inuentio corpus stephani	ii	„		Eupli . m
non.			Oswaldi regis et m	id.			ypoliti . m

AUGUST

xviii kal. Sept. Assumtione sce marie[1]
xiv „ „ magni . m[2]
et helene . u[3]
xiii „ „ ualentini
et maximiani
xii kal. Sept. iulii et iuliani .
simforiani[2]
viii „ „ bartholomei . apli[1]
iv „ „ Decolatio ioh bap[1]

[1] A cross follows this entry. [2] The entries of xiv-xii kal. in a different hand.

[3] In R is 'scæ elenæ reg.'. This is now the day of St. Helena empress; in codd *Wiss* and *Bern* of M H (not in *Ept*) is 'Apparition of the Holy Cross at Jerusalem' at this day; there is (as appears from Dom Quentin's book) no 'Helena' in the historical martyrologies up to the time of Ado inclusive, or in the documents reviewed by him generally.

SEPTEMBER

Kal. prisce . u . et m
iv non. iustini . epi
[? iv or iii] et birini[1]
iii „ bonefacii . epi et m
et marcelli .
non. berhtini abb
vi id. Natiuitas sce marie
v „ Gorgoni . m
iii „ p*ro*ti et iacincti . m
xviii kal. Oct. Exultatio sce crucis .
xvii „ „ nicomedis . m
et iuliani .
xvi „ „ Eufemie . u . et m
et lucie . u .
xv „ „ landberhti e[pi]
xiv kal. Oct. Meliti . epi
xiii „ „ theodori . epi
xii „ „ Uig*ilia*
xi „ „ Mathei apl et eugl
x „ „ maurici . cu*m* . ui .
DCLXUI . mar[2]
ix „ „ tecle . u . et m .
viii „ „ Conceptio . ioh
vii „ „ sci firmini . m
et sceollfridi ab[3]
vi „ „ Cipriani et iustine . u .
v „ „ Cosme et damiani . mar
iv „ „ Gylde . con .[4]
iii „ „ Dedicatio ecle michaelis
ii „ „ Germani . epi et c

[1] See p. 159 above as to the feast of Birinus in September which in all other calendars is at 4 Sept. This entry 'et birini' is in the line of 2 Sept. but is so written that it may be a continuation of the entry of 3 Sept. Wo is the only other calendar that has Birinus alone; 'Transl. Birini et Cuthberti' in Ju, R, Sh, WV, WT; 'et Cuthberti translatio' in later hand in Wo.

[2] So MS.; intended for 6666 (see p. 148 n. 2 N° 13).

[3] St. Ceolfrid is at this day in OEM, G, B, Sh, and V.

[4] The feast of St. Gildas is (universally) 29 Jan., at which day also it is found in this calendar. The present feast is unique. A manuscript missal of Vannes of the fifteenth century has a feast of St. Gildas at v id. Maii (see abbé F. Duine's *Bréviaires et Missels des églises et abbayes Bretonnes*, Rennes, Eug. Prost, 1905, p. 141). But in view of the ease with which, I think, we too commonly accord credit for antiquity to Breton or Welsh or Irish, in a word Celtic, 'traditions' as compared with what is merely English, it may be well to observe that the oldest extant Breton calendar—one of Landevenec of the eleventh (so M. Delisle) or at the earliest of the late tenth century (Duine pp. 148-151)—seems to give clear evidence (apart from St. Cuthbert at 20 March, and St. Augustine at 26 May) that it goes back on an English original. The feast of St. Gildas of 28 September is therefore not to be summarily dismissed as only a blunder (cf. note on x kal. Jun. above).

OCTOBER

Kal. remegi et uedasti .
vi non. leodgari epi
v ,, Marci et marcelliani
iii ,, cristine . u .
non. marci . pape et marcelli
viii id. richari . c[1]
et faustini
et iwi . c[2]
vii ,, Dionisi . rustici et eleutheri . m
vi ,, paulini . epi et c
v ,, æthelburge . u[3]
et firmini . epi
iii ,, anastati . epi
ii ,, Calesti . epi et m
et furtunati . epi
xvii kal. Nov. luciani .
et maximiani .
xvi kal. Nov. ætheldrythe . u .
xv ,, ,, luce eugl
xiii ,, ,, Neoti . psbi[4]
xii ,, ,, hilarionis . c
xi ,, ,, flauiani .
et filippi
x ,, ,, thodorici . mar
ix ,, ,, felicis et audacti . mar
viii ,, ,, crispini et crispiniani . m
vii ,, ,, sci eadfridi . conf[5]
vi ,, ,, uig*ilia*
v ,, ,, simonis et iude[6]
iv ,, ,, sci iacincti . mar
iii ,, ,, Maximiani .
ii ,, ,, quintini . mar .
uig*ilia*

[1] A Ponthieu saint; in D and S only (see p. 159 n. 1 as to Terouanne saints).

[2] In the two Winchester calendars, WT and WV, only. [3] In OEM, G, S, Sh.

[4] Also in Sh; the late mediæval feast of St. Neot is 31 July; see what is said as to St. Petrock and St. Gildas in notes to x kal. Jun. and iv kal. Oct. above.

[5] Perhaps bishop Eadfrith of Lindisfarne (698-721). An 'eatferth' is invoked in the longer litany of Galba A xiv (see note to v id. Jun. above); other persons of this name in Searle *Onomasticon* p. 179. [6] A cross follows the names.

NOVEMBER

Kal. Omniu*m* scor
iv non. eustachi . m
iii ,, rumwaldi[1]
et germani . ep
ii ,, p*er*petue . u .
non. felicis et eusebi
viii id. winnoci . epi
vi ,, . iiii . coronator .
v ,, theodori . m
iv ,, iusti . epi .[2]
iii ,, martini epi
et menne . m
id. bricii epi
xvii kal. Dec. Machuti . epi et c
xiv ,, ,, romani et barali . pueri . m[3]
xiii ,, ,, Colu*m*bani . c
x ,, ,, Cecilie . u .
ix ,, ,, Clementis . pape et m
viii ,, ,, Grisogori . m
vi ,, ,, lini pape
iii ,, ,, saturnini . m
uig[ilia]
ii ,, ,, Passio andree apli

[1] Rumwald is at iv non. in B; in S at iii non. as N.

[2] In B; in S 'Deposs dñi iustini archiepi' (i. e. Justus of Canterbury).

[3] So too B; G had 'isici' (the other companion in martyrdom of Romanus).

DECEMBER

Kal.		candide . u .	xix	kal.	Jan.	uictoris et uictorie m
iii	non.	birini epi	xviii	„	„	Maximiani epi
ii	„	trl benedicti abb	xvi	„	„	Ignati epi et m
viii	id.	Nicolai epi et c[1]	xiii	„	„	Iuliani et bassi-
vii	„	Oc andree				lisce . u
iv	„	Eulalie . u .	xii	„	„	Thomas
iii	„	Damasci . pape[2]	viii	„	„	Natiuitas . Dni[3]
ii	„	Donati epi et c	vii	„	„	Stephani . m[3]
id.		lucie . u	vi	„	„	Iohis eugl[3]
		et iudoci	v	„	„	Innocentium
			ii	„	„	siluestri pape[4]

[1] This seems the earliest authentication in an English calendar of the feast of St. Nicholas.

[2] 'c' is erased. [3] A cross follows this entry.

[4] In another hand seemingly not earlier than late cent. xi: 'et sci eguini epi'.

C. THE CALENDAR OF SAINT AUGUSTINE'S

A comparison of the two leaves of calendar in the Eton MS. 78 (a copy of which, discriminating its various handwritings, has been kindly sent to me by Dr. M. R. James) with the foregoing Table of Canterbury cathedral calendars and with three calendars of St. Augustine's now in my hands solves at once the difficulties this fragment presents. It is part (February and March, November and December) of a calendar of St. Augustine's of (seemingly the first half of) the thirteenth century. At a later period this St. Augustine's calendar passed to the cathedral; and at some time early in the fifteenth century was more or less adapted to the use of this latter church. This adaptation was effected by the insertion of the two recently decreed 'synodal' feasts, St. David and St. Chad, 1 and 2 March; by the substitution at 16 Nov. of the Ordination of St. Elphege for the Ordination of St. Augustine (see p. 122 n. 1); and by the addition of gradings to (most of) such feasts of St. Augustine's as were also kept at the cathedral. Apart from palæographical considerations the date of this entry of gradings may be inferred from that of 6 Nov., St. Leonard, which is given as 'quasi in albis xii lc'. From the Table printed above it appears that this is a designation peculiar to No. 13, a manuscript of the early part of the fifteenth century. The gradings of the Eton MS. will be given in full below among the *Corrigenda*.[1]

It is neither to be expected nor desired that the subject of the St. Augustine's calendar should be discussed here; but notice must be taken of some items that concern matters already touched on in this extended tract.

[1] Three items which I do not understand are mentioned here for record: 9 Mar. 'Scorum xl milium' (*so*); 2 Dec. 'Sci Birini epi.'; 7 Dec. 'Ignacii epi'; to each of these is added the grading 'iii lc'; but these three items do not appear in the Canterbury Cathedral calendars. The '40 mil.' occurs in MS. 'AC' and Ignatius in MS. 'AA' (for these signs see the next footnote).

(1) One or other of the three St. Augustine's calendars mentioned above as in hand[1] shews items of the calendar in the Bosworth Psalter (B) that have fallen out of the later calendars of Canterbury cathedral. These are:

17 Jan.	Antonii mon.	in AA, AC.
12 Feb.	Eulalie v.	in AC; not in AA.
23 „	Milburge	in AC; not in AA, AB.
9 Mar.	Passio scor. xl millium (*so*).	in AC; not in AA, AB.
6 July	Sexburge v.	in AA, AC; not in AB.

Of these five items the first, second and fourth occur also in the Glastonbury calendar of the tenth century (G).

But four other items, unfamiliar in the later mediæval calendars generally, also suggest enquiry; viz.

6 Mar.	'sci victoris'	in AA, AC.
7 Apr.	'sci timothei'	in AC only.
9 „	'sce Marie egyptiace'	in AC only.
11 Oct.	'sce ethelburge v. iii lc'	in AA, AC, AB.

Whence come these four? They are not in B. But they all occur in the calendar G; and I know of no third document in which they occur together.[2]

(2) It was said above p. 35 n. 1 that, in addition to the names of the six archbishops whose relics were translated in 1091, there are found in the St. Augustine's calendar of c. 1252-1273 (AC) two others, Tathwin and Jambert. Both names are absent from the Ashmole MS. (AA) which may date about half a century earlier. The two brief lists just given shew five other items found in AC but not in AA. This is the case also with three more:

17 Oct.	Etheldredi et Etheldruthi	in AC, AB.
12 Nov.	sci Liwini epi et m.	in AC ('com'), AB ('iii lc').
21 „	Oblacio Sce Marie v. ii	in AC only.

All this seems to indicate that at some time in the first half of the thirteenth

[1] These are: Ashmole MS. 1525, early cent. xiii, here called AA; that in the Canterbury cathedral MS. E 19 (c. 1252-1273), here called AC; and a calendar of early cent. xiv in a Psalter of St. Augustine's now in the collection of Mr. C. W. Dyson Perrins, here called AB (the months of January and February are wanting). The first and third were communicated to me by Mr S. C. Cockerell. The two calendars at the British Museum mentioned above (p. 125) as containing St. Augustine's material are in Cotton MSS. Julius D vii and Vespasian A ii (see Fr. R. Stanton's *Menology* p. 677).

[2] As regards the pre-Conquest calendars: Victor (6 Mar.) is found in G alone; Timothy (7 Apr.) is in G, Sh, Wo; for St. Mary of Egypt see above p. 148 n. 2 N° 5; Ethelburga (11 Oct.) is in OEM, G, S, Sh and N. Doubtless this last named feast is found in several late mediæval calendars; but a consideration of the place of origin of those referred to in Father Richard Stanton's *Menology* p. 486, will, I think, shew that St. Ethelburga is not on that account to be eliminated from the list in the text.

century the calendar of St. Augustine's was submitted to some kind of reconsideration or revision.

(3) A notable feature of the post-Conquest calendars of both Canterbury cathedral and St. Augustine's in the form of their final settlement is the almost entire absence of feasts of Norman saints. The calendar, for instance, of Exeter of the later years of the twelfth century (Hampson *Med. aevi Kalendar.* I 449-460) shews about a dozen. Besides St. Austroberta and St. Audoen whose cult in the particular case was due to relics and dated from before the Conquest, the calendar of Canterbury cathedral shews the introduction of but one Norman saint, St. Nicasius of Rouen (11 Oct.). The St. Augustine's calendar has at 21 June St. Leutfridus and at 24 Aug. St. Audoen; but both of these were well-established and wide-spread feasts in England before 1066. There remains 27 Feb. St. Honorina as the solitary record in the St. Augustine's calendar of Norman influence like St. Nicasius at the cathedral.[1]

(4) One further point concerning the calendar of St. Augustine's may be usefully noticed here. The famous translation of the relics of St. Thomas in 1220 by archbishop Stephen Langton, one of the most renowned pageants of the thirteenth century, almost immediately found recognition in other and even somewhat distant Churches. But the ancient and dignified community only a few furlongs away were by no means so ready or so complaisant. The calendar of the Ashmole MS. may very well date from a time before the solemnity; but this Translation was still not recognized at St. Augustine's when the calendar in the Canterbury MS. E 19 was written (between 1252 and 1273); when entered later by another hand it does not receive a grading; and in the fourteenth century (as shewn by AB) has the quite inferior one of twelve lessons. It has not infrequently happened that great ecclesiastical corporations placed quite near each other are by no means disposed to adopt soon or easily new feasts of their immediate neighbours,—a point it is sometimes well to remember when assigning approximate dates to calendars on internal evidence.

(5) In the calendar of the Canterbury MS. E 19, besides the obits of abbats and a few friends or domestic worthies, are some fifteen of very great personages. Seven of these are of Anglo-Saxon times: Harold and Stigand; of an earlier day, Canute, queen Emma and archbishop Eadsige.

Two remain. The first, at xiii kal. Feb., is the obit, as 'Eadbaldus rex Anglorum',[2] of Eadbald, Ethelbert's successor as king of Kent (616-640), whose death-date inscribed in some Paschal Table was sixty or seventy years later carried over to the continent by some English missioner to survive for us as a historical record

[1] Though the relics of St. Honorina were actually preserved at Conflans (Oise) her tomb at Graville in the pays de Caux and diocese of Rouen was the centre of her cult and object of pilgrimage (Cochet, *Le tombeau de Sainte Honorine à Graville près le Hâvre*, Rouen, E. Cagniard, 1867). Dom Morin has in the *Semaine religieuse* of Bayeux restored St. Honorina to her primitive origin in the diocese of Bayeux (Potthast, *Bibl. hist.* Ed. 2. p. 1377); but this restitution has no bearing on what is said here, either in text or note.

[2] Repeated at xi kal. as 'Eadbaldus rex' only.

only in the meagre earliest annals of distant Salzburg. But this death-date of Eadbald survived, too, some six or seven hundred years after as an obit in his father's own foundation of St. Augustine's.

The second, at viii kal. Sept., 'Eadgiua regina', is that of the 'noble queen Edyva' whose name at all events was kept fresh in memory at Christ Church down to the Suppression (p. 125 n. 1). This can be no other than that 'Eadgifu evax', as she loved to call herself, widow of king Edward the Elder, Alfred's son, mother, and grandmother, of two kings, Edmund and Edred, Edwy and Edgar. In view of the recorded incidents in the life of this great lady, who played such a part in the English history of the tenth century, and lived to see Edgar's accession, we cannot be far wrong in tracing back the inscription of her name in the obit-books of Canterbury cathedral and St. Augustine's directly to St. Dunstan himself.

CORRIGENDA

p. 6 l. 15. It would be perhaps now not proper to pass over without notice a name occurring in this Canon of the Mass added by a later hand. The list of Saints in the 'Nobis quoque peccatoribus' after 'Anastasia' has 'Euphemia'. This is rare. The same insertion is, however, found in the Canon of a Roman Ordo of about the year 1032 written for the church of Séez in Normandy seen by Ménard (Preface to his Gregorian Sacramentary, Paris, 1642 pp. 9-10, and Notes p. 21; in Migne *P. L.* 78, 20-21, 281 n. 78). This MS. also contained the Annals now commonly known from the name of its possessor as 'Annales Tiliani', and another set of Annals to A. D. 1032, both first printed by Duchesne (*Scr. rer. Franc.* II 11, III 356). It seems to be now lost. But the presence of this singular feature of the Séez MS. in the copy of the Canon added to the Bosworth Psalter at Canterbury towards the close (as it would seem) of the eleventh century deserves attention and might be a starting point for further enquiry.

p. 25 l 4. *A footnote should be added as follows:* A difference between B and G that does not affect the figures deserves notice. G has 'Sci Thomae apost.' as well as Erasmus at 3 June; the 'Translatio thomae apli' at 3 July in B is not in G. B here follows the tradition of M H, also found in other English documents; but G, by exception, has adopted a tradition found in *Rich* and evidently interpolated into the M H text of *Bern* (see ed. of de Rossi and Duchesne p. 74).

p. 25 l. 9 *read* Baralus.

p. 25 l. 19. The origin of the cult of St. Fursey at Canterbury cathedral is here referred to the continent not to Ireland as it was due to relics (p. 57 seqq.).

p. 27 n. 1 For knowledge of the calendar in the Egerton MS. I have to thank Mr. J. P. Gilson who put it into my hands. When writing this first part of the tract I had forgotten the calendar in the Lambeth MS. 443 (No. 12 of the Table) which I had copied out some three and twenty years before.

p. 30 l. 4 *read* and with a few.

p. 31 l. 10 *read* took place during Anselm's visit to Lanfranc at Canterbury in the spring, and

p 33 n. 1 last line *for* age *read* date

p. 45 (9) in footnote, l. 12 *read* quod cum quidam

p. 47 l. 8 *read* Eadmer

p. 49 l. 22 *read* the feast of 8 December

p. 50 l. 4 *read* Constantinopolitan

p. 51 n. 2 l. 3 *read* our

p. 53 l. 15 *for* Metrical *read* Poetical

p. 53 n. 1 last line: *Fasti*

p. 54 ll. 3-4. The tract on the Resting Places of English Saints gives an early and authentic notice of these relics thus: 'sancte Brangwalatoris héafod, biscopes, and sancte Samsones earm, biscopes, and his cricc '(F. Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands* p. 19).

p. 54 n. 1 l. 3 *read* distinguished.

p. 55 l. 2 from bottom of text *cancel quotation mark at the beginning.*

p. 61 n. 1 ll. 14-15 'There is no mention by the original hand of St. Aldhelm'. This is too categorical; I notice some differences of script in the entry of St. Aldhelm (25 May) as well as in about a half a dozen names in December, and on this account make my reserves. But others on inspecting the MS. might have no such scruples and would consider these entries part of the calendar as originally written.

p. 64 l. 11 *read* palæographical.

p. 64 ll. 16, 17 *cancel the two commas.*

p. 65 l 12 'the only entry in the calendar'.—This is incorrect; the word 'Natal' also occurs in B at 1 May (see the Table). Note 1 at p. 82 is of course to be read in connection with what is said at p. 65 as to this entry of St. Edward k. and m. That it is by a later hand seems not open to doubt.

p. 72 ll. 7-8 *read* almost invariably used in No. 7 (except in June, July and August) for feasts

p. 73 n. 1 l. 14. As Dom Quentin (*Les Martyrologes historiques* p. 129) would seem to imply that the feast of St. Bartholomew may have been assigned in England to both the 24th and 25th Aug. in the first half of the eighth century, it may be as well to state the facts of the case. From the details given p. 73 n. 1 above it appears that with two exceptions the 24th is not found in our English calendars as the feast of St. Bartholomew until the second half of the eleventh century. These two exceptions are: the metrical calendar in Galba A xviii and J. In sending me a copy of J, Abbot Gasquet pointed out that its metrical entries are also found in the Galba calendar; moreover, both have the obits of Alfred and Ealhswith; both date from the early part of the tenth century; and both do not influence later English tradition.

As regards English documents of a date earlier than c. 900 Will, Y, Oeng, OEM, D covering the seventh to the tenth century have St. Bartholomew at the 25th. As regards the Hieronymian Martyrology: his name is at the 25th in *Ept*; it is not mentioned in *Wiss*; but is in *Bern* at the 24th.

The origin of the 24th is to be sought in France. St. Bartholomew was one of the saints whose feast the Franco-Gallic compiler of the *Gelas. saec. viii* was the first to furnish with a proper mass (see p. 154 above), and he assigned it to the 24th Aug.; the same date is found also in the Martyrologium Gellonense, and in the calendar written for Charlemagne between 781 and 783 (see F. Piper, *Karls d. Gr. Kalendarium*, pp. 14, 27). This seems to show that 24th Aug. had in France been commonly substituted for the 25th as early as the first half of the eighth century. It would be interesting to know which, if any, of the Gallic calendars of

the eighth and ninth centuries still shew St. Bartholomew at the 25th. The Calendarium Floriacense certainly does so; but this is doubtless due to the fact that it goes back on an English original (see p. 14 n. 1 above).

It would appear then that if St. Bartholomew is found in MSS. of 'Bede's Martyrology' at the 24th Aug., this is due either to a change of day made to suit continental usage, or to the fact that the name was not inserted by Bede in his work but was added later in France.

p. 76 col. 3 at 10th: *read* Pauli

p. 82 footnote 1 *for* 27th *read* 17th

p. 83 seqq. and 113 seqq. The following are the gradings in the Eton MS. 78 (see p. 171 above) added in the fifteenth century after the calendar came to the cathedral:

7	Mar.	(Perp. et Felicit.) iii lc	20	Nov.	(Edm. k.) x[ii lc]
9	„	('scorum xl milium') iii lc	30	„	(Andr.) II
12	„	(Greg. pp.) in c	2	Dec.	('Sci Birini epi') iii lc
18	„	(Edw. k. and m.) III	6	„	(Nichol.) in a.
20	„	(Cuthb.) ? xii lc	7	„	(Oct. Andr.) xii lc
21	„	(Bened.) II	8	„	(Conc. Mar.) in c.
25	„	(Annunc.) II	11	„	(Damas.) iii lc
4	Apr.	(Ambros.) in c	13	„	(Lucy) xii lc
19	„	(Elphege) III	16	„	(Barb.) iii lc
23	„	(George) in c	17	„	('Ignacii epi') iii lc
25	„	(Mark) in c	21	„	(Thomas ap.) in c.
28	„	(Vitalis) iii lc	25	„	(Christmas) III
6	Nov.	(Leonard) quasi in a. xii lc	26	„	(Steph.) in c.
11	„	(Martin) in c.	27	„	(John ev.) II
13	„	(Brice) xii lc	28	„	(Innoc.) in c.
16	„	(Ordin. Elph.) in a.	29	„	(Thomas abp.) III
18	„	(Oct. Mart.) xii lc	31	„	(Silvester) xii lc

p. 87 at 23rd: *cancel* 'quasi in a. 13'.

p. 95 l. 10 *for* Tanslacio *read* Translacio

p. 113 n. 1 *for* Bryan *read* Plucknett

p. 118 *read* 118 *for* 811 *at foot of page*

pp. 121-122. Perhaps I ought to have mentioned the alternatives. Besides three other Ronans, Oengus has at 18 Nov. 'royal Ronan' (different from 'bishop Ronan the royal' of 9 Feb.; see the genealogies pp. 73, 243). In the Drummond calendar at 18 Nov. along with Romanus of Antioch is 'natale confessoris Ronain' (p. 37). There is cult of a St. Ronan in Brittany particularly in the diocese of Saint-Pol-de-Léon (see Duine, *op. cit.* pp. 155-156, 167; cf. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* II 87). St. Rumon of the Lizard and Tavistock is also sometimes called Ronan. Having explained in the text what seems to me the more likely origin of the Canterbury feast, I must leave it to others to evidence the introduction of the cult of

an Irish, Breton, or Cornish Ronan at Canterbury as has been done above for Brendan at Evesham.

p. 125 l. 4 *read* calendar.

'Residue of G' (p. 148 n. 2):

Nº 2 *add* D

„ 5 *after* D *add* (at iv non. Apr.).

„ 8 *read thus:* At iv non. in M H *Ept* 'herasmi'; *Wiss* and *Bern* 'Nerasmi';—in Will ('erasmi mar.'), Oeng, OEM.—In B at iii non. as in G.

„ 9 *add* in Wo 'sce Marie virg.'

„ 13 *add* Sh 6006, Will 6660

'Residue of S' (p. 150 n. 1)—

Nº 11 *add* Ju, N.

„ 26 *add* Will Y.

'Residue of D' (p. 151 n. 2):—

Nº 2 *for* xxii *read* xxv.

Nº 4 *add* (in M H at v id.)

„ 7 *add* But see Quentin, *Martyrol. hist.* p. 696 (Venantius).

„ 8 *add* (? B).

„ 10 *read thus*: in OEM, Ju, R (? erased in Wo; in Oeng at xv kal.)

p. 150 ll. 8-9: The two items of 7 May and 24 Oct. are interesting; but no notice has been taken of them because they raise new and distinct questions.

p. 152 l. 24 *add*: It is possible that the 'sce maxime' of Nº 19 in the Residue of S (p. 150 n. 1) may be another late reflection of the entry in *Ept.*

p. 154 l. 18 *for* Gallican *read* Gallic

p. 156 l. 3 from bottom *after* Grenoble *read*: The Breviates of Gell itself, the so-called 'Labbeanum' (MS. Phillipps 1667 at Berlin) and the recently edited 'Treverense', Nos 26 and 37 of de Rossi's *Prolegomena*, both MSS. of the later years of the eighth century, also bear witness to the vogue of Gell.

p. 162 n. 2 l. 5 *read* 31 July.

p. 158 l. 16 *for* calendar of the church of York *read* metrical York calendar

p. 159 l. 25 *for* metrical calendar of the church of York *read* metrical York calendar

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